HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Conservatives Ask Nixon:

Where's the New Broom?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Four weeks have elapsed since Richard Nixon took over the White House. It is not a long time, but it is long enough to foster a sense of unease on the conservative right. Out with it: Mr. Nixon, thus far, disappoints.

This is a tentative judgment, subject to reversal as time runs on, and perhaps judgment is too strong a word. It may be no more than a growing concern. Whatever it is—dismay, apprehension, discomfiture—the feeling has begun to take root in conservative circles. Where is the new broom of our autumn exertions?

Some of the critical murmurs, notably on Capitol Hill, arise from old-fashioned partisanship. The country has come a long way from the Jacksonian spoils system; no one wants to go back. All the same, Republicans understandably are yearning for more Republicanism in the White House. For eight years they wandered in the wilderness; in November the New Jerusalem came in sight. Was it all a mirage?

Mr. Nixon has not cleaned house. To be sure, a new Cabinet is in office, but what of that? Bureaucracy is a kind of root vegetable: What counts is underground. It is at the third and fourth levels that memorandums are drafted, regulations enforced, speeches prepared, and policies shaped. If Mr. Nixon fails to dig down to these levels, and to put in new men with new ideas, he will harvest the same old thing. Conservative Republicans are not asking for a whole garden of conservative flowers. But in the winter of their discontent, they would like to see an occasional crocus peeking through. They have yet to perceive the first green shoot.

What they see, for one example, is

Several of HEW Secretary Robert Finch's aides have caused concern among conservatives. Above, Finch poses with (from left to right) Creed C. Black, Patricia Hitt, John Veneman and James Farmer. The latter two men, discussed more fully on page 3, are particularly disturbing to those who expected an end to the "Great Society."

Dr. James E. Allen, newly appointed commissioner of education. The gentleman is not, in the conservative view, a reassuring sight. In New York, Dr. Allen became known as "Mr. Busing," from his peculiar obsession with the notion that the way to improve education is to bus children by the hundreds, by the thousands, in order to achieve racial balance.

Dr. Allen is to serve as an assistant secretary to Robert Finch, head of Health, Education and Welfare. And what of Secretary Finch? In his first public appearance, on "Meet the Press," Finch spoke largely of his intention to involve the federal government in vast new areas of elementary and secondary education. Historically, these areas have been the responsibility of the states and localities. The ominous prospect arises, no larger than Elijah's cloud, that a far more pervasive federal role is envisioned.

There is more. Mr. Nixon left the impression, throughout the campaign period, that he looked with a cool eye on the Soviet Union. He opposed ratification of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty as an expression of national indignation at the rape of Czechoslovakia. Yet Mr. Nixon scarcely had taken off his hat last month before he was asking for prompt and favorable action on the treaty. In the conservative view, the treaty is at best a gesture. It is asked: Is there really some good purpose to be served by making the gesture now?

Conservatives had expected to see the emergence of specific plans for dismantling at least a part of the welfare house that Lyndon built. Nothing has come along. They had hoped that at least one of Mr. Nixon's ten thousand committees would have formulated solid ideas for reform of labor law. Nothing yet; nothing in sight. Pat Moynihan's affable face rises like a moon over urban affairs. Otto Otepka, the State Department security officer who was ousted by a liberal vendetta, remains on the beach.

Well, perhaps we expected too much. And the record, of course, has its encouraging aspects. Postmaster General Blount has begun some welcome reforms in the mail. Atty. Gen. Mitchell has put the wiretap weapon to use against organized crime. The Paris peace talks show evidence of motion, if not of progress. Mr. Nixon's recommendations for beefing up law enforcement here in Washington were sound.

One swallow doesn't make a summer; four weeks don't fix a President's course. All that ought to be said right now is that hungry conservatives have been waiting politely since November to be fed. Throw us a bone, Mr. President! Throw us a bone!

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•

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Capital Briefs

● Hard-line anti-Communists are not exactly happy with the set-up in the State Department, but they are pleased by the naming of **Martin J. Hillenbrand,** currently U.S. ambassador to Hungary, as deputy assistant secretary for European Affairs. Hillenbrand, according to the experts, is "terribly competent" and has particular expertise on Berlin, a trouble area that the Soviets have heated up to test Nixon's determination to resist Communist aggression.

● Security officials fear a **possible assassination attempt** during President Nixon's upcoming European trip. Radical-leftists have promised massive protests in several cities, notably Berlin, against Nixon, "agent of the most reactionary wing of America's bourgeois society." A presidential aide directing security arrangements said last week, "Anything could happen. We're taking no chances."

● One of the first big pieces of legislation Labor Secretary George Shultz is considering sending down to the Hill may please the construction unions. Though a number of top GOP senators are angry over the prospect, they say Shultz wants to ease the legal restrictions against **common situs picketing.** Inside word is that he has presidential backing on this score.

● **Stokely Carmichael,** a high-ranking officer in the Black Panthers, was recently quoted in the liberal Stockholm daily, Dagens Nyheter, as saying he was using all the money he could spare to buy arms and promote guerrilla warfare in the United States. Regarding the Panthers, Carmichael said: "We believe in violence, and we are preparing for a guerrilla war." He also claimed it was "necessary to attack police stations and kill policemen."

● Within a week after Congress—supported by President Nixon—raised the federal pay of lawmakers, top government executives and judges, Treasury Secretary David Kennedy declared that the Administration would ask for another hike in the **national debt limit.**

● Turncoat Republican **Theodore McKeldin** remains on the federal payroll—despite the fact that President Nixon withdrew his nomination to the Indian Claims Commission January 23. McKeldin, a former Maryland governor, received an interim appointment to the cushy $36,000-a-year job from President Johnson. Although Nixon withdrew the nomination, McKeldin continues to sit on the commission—and will do so until a new appointee is sworn in.

● Up for re-election in 1970, Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.) may find that his toughest opponent will be the Kennedy family fortune. Rep. **John Tunney** (D.-Calif.), who is the best bet to win the Democratic senatorial nomination, is already receiving aid from the Kennedys in his bid to oust Murphy.

● Rep. J. Herbert Burke (R.-Fla.) has succeeded in his demand that the government's General Accounting Office (GAO) investigate the non-power activities of the mammoth **Tennessee Valley Authority** (TVA). The U.S. comptroller general said last week that such a probe will begin shortly. Burke's curiosity on the subject was piqued when the Fort Lauderdale News revealed that the TVA owned 4,800 acres of choice land in northern Florida for no discernable purpose. Burke also learned that the TVA annually spends over $50 million in federal funds for non-power activities.

● The **Free Society Association** (**FSA**), created with much fanfare in early 1965 to educate America on conservative principles, has quietly folded up shop. The FSA was organized by aides of defeated Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater, with the ex-senator himself acting as honorary chairman. Now, due to a lack of funds and the departure of key personnel, FSA is no more. Goldwater, of course, is back in the Senate; his '64 campaign manager and FSA president, Denison Kitchel, is again practicing law in Phoenix; and research/staff director Chuck Lichenstein has signed on as personal assistant to Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Robert Finch.

● Wonder why **Columbia University** suffers from an overdose of militant students? Militant teachers, that's why. Super-liberal Andrew W. Cordier, acting president of the university, last week announced the appointment of Dr. Charles V. Hamilton to a special professorship in urban studies. Dr. Hamilton, an advocate of "confrontation" politics, is co-author with Stokely Carmichael of "Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America."

● Having had his troubles with teachers, militants, garbagemen and prostitutes, New York City Mayor **John Lindsay** last week was dealt a blow by ol' Mother Nature herself. Following an avalanche of 15 inches of snow in a matter of a few hours—New York's largest storm in eight years—the city's snow removal equipment was laboriously slow in clearing streets and rescuing isolated city dwellers; residents, naturally, blamed Lindsay. "I might as well be living in the Alps," U.N. Under Secretary Ralph Bunche wired Lindsay from his marooned Queens apartment building. "In all the years, we have never experienced such neglect in snow removal as now." "I didn't put the snow there," Lindsay lamented.

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Finch Wrecking 'Southern Strategy'?

Conservative circles in Washington are irreverently referring to Robert Finch, the new secretary of health, education and welfare, as Richard Nixon's "Seventh Crisis." For the fact is that Finch, by appointing overzealous civil rights activists who would have been perfect selections in a Hubert Humphrey Administration, is causing outright consternation among key Republican strategists instrumental in guiding Nixon to his 1968 campaign victory.

FINCH

These politicos believe that Nixon must convert a major part of the South—which virtually abandoned the Democratic party last year—into permanent Republican territory. By no means do they advocate reversing the equal opportunity course that the United States has set for minority groups. But they do stress that the moderate Southern white, who is also in a minority, should have a sympathetic ear in this Administration.

Furthermore, they believe that a Nixon Administration could aid the Negro more through an emphasis on job training, education and black capitalism than by devising bizarre compulsory integration techniques that keep communities at an ever-constant boiling point.

If Finch is at all aware that the GOP must woo voters below the Mason-Dixon line, he has gone about his job in a most peculiar way. Consider what he has done in less than four weeks in office:

• He has declared his intention to prevent not only compulsory segregation—a policy most Republicans can agree with—but he has now proposed a war on de facto segregation as well. Thus he has left the impression—whether intentional or not—that he will champion compulsory busing, educational parks, open housing, etc., to break down voluntary housing and neighborhood school patterns.

• While he has repeatedly insisted that economic weapons should be used against the South only as a last resort, he has—based on findings of the previous Administration—already begun to withdraw funds from Southern school communities.

• Finch slapped the South again two weeks ago when he selected Dr. James Allen to be U.S. commissioner of education. As former education czar in New York, Allen turned the state topsy-turvy with irresponsible busing schemes that have fanned racial tensions, overruled local school boards and kept suburban areas in constant upheaval.

Last week Finch sent another shudder through Southward-looking GOP politicos by making James Farmer assistant secretary of HEW. The Farmer choice is considered strange from a wide variety of angles.

In the first place, Farmer vigorously repudiated Nixon during the campaign. In the second place, his rapport with the Negro community is somewhat less than overwhelming. Last year the well-known Farmer received just 25 per cent of the vote in his race against almost unknown Shirley Chisholm in New York's virtually all-Negro 12th Congressional District in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn.

In addition, Farmer has not always been the most responsible of political leaders. There was the episode during the 1964 Harlem riots, for instance.

On July 19, the day after the riots were in full swing, Farmer, then national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), met with other Negro militants at Mt. Morris Presbyterian Church in Harlem. In a tape-recorded statement, Farmer railed against police brutality. He claimed that he personally saw a policeman shoot a Negro woman who had only asked: "Help me get a taxi so that I can go home." According to Farmer, "A policeman drew his revolver and shot her in the groin. . . . She wound up in Harlem Hospital."

Farmer's statement, which raced through the Harlem community, was picked up by the press and broadcast on television as the riot gained momentum. Yet Farmer later admitted—long after his inflammatory statement had had its effect—that he had only been *told* of the incident.

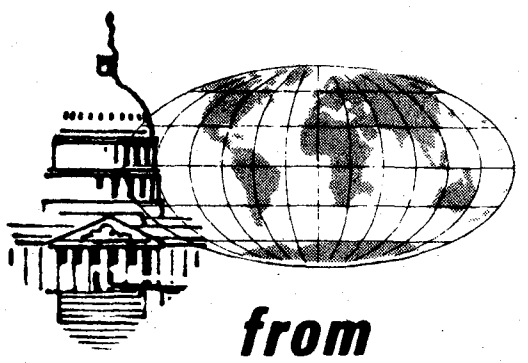
Investigation strongly indicates that no such incident ever took place. Harlem Hospital reported that it had received no woman patient bearing the wound described by Farmer. In a book called *Race Riots—New York 1964,* authors Shapiro and Sullivan bluntly accuse Farmer of spreading rumors during the volcanic Harlem outbursts.

Aside from all of this, Farmer can be expected to push a hard integrationist line inside the confines of Finch's outfit. In his book *Freedom—When?,* published by Random House in 1965, Farmer advocates national boycotts, sit-ins, and virtually all the other paraphernalia of the civil rights crusaders.

Like many of Finch's other appointments, he wants the federal government to brandish its economic might to compel integrationist goals. "First," he says, "we must spur the government to vigorous use of its most powerful weapon: the withdrawal of financial support from any discriminatory activity."

Whatever the Finch gang intends to do, currently it seems to be putting an end to any "Southern strategy" for the GOP. Thus the belief grows that the biggest headache Nixon may be faced with in the future is his good friend, the politically ambitious Robert Finch.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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Inside Washington

Nixon Deals a Blow to YRs

It is no secret in Washington that many high-ranking Republicans outside the Administration—including party members in Congress and their aides—are considerably irked at the high-handedness of President Nixon and his staff in making appointments and preparing legislation without consulting these GOP leaders. There is not yet any prospect of a full-blown revolt, but things do not appear to be getting much better.

Last week the Administration managed to insult and alienate yet another important group of Republicans, the nation's GOP youth, with President Nixon's announcement that his White House staff aide on youth affairs—his "youth liaison"—would be William B. Mullins, a 31-year-old Democrat.

Mullins' previous government experience had been as right-hand man to Sargent Shriver when he headed both the Peace Corps and the Office of Economic Opportunity. Mullins, however, had little direct contact with the young Corpsmen or VISTA volunteers, and his major concern was publicity and public relations.

This appointment, said one prominent Republican youth leader, "was a slap in the face."

This was the scene at one of the many Inaugural functions last January as YRNF chairman Jack McDonald (left) and YRNF Co-Chairman Dotte Fancher (right) met with Tricia Nixon, Randy Agnew, and Mr. and Mrs. David Eisenhower. But the Young Republicans now appear to be getting the cold shoulder from the Nixon Administration.

Youthful GOP members are interpreting the naming of a Democrat to the White House youth post as a Nixon vote of "no confidence" in the Young Republicans who campaigned hard for his election last year. "It's as if Nixon had come out and said the YRs don't have anybody competent enough for this job," was the way one young activist summed it up.

On top of this affront, the White House did not even take the time to let leaders of the Young Republicans National Federation know it was coming. Neither YRNF National Chairman Jack McDonald nor National Vice Chairman Mrs. Dottee Fancher was advised that the appointment was to be made.

In fact, these two ranking leaders of the GOP's youth group would have known nothing of Mullins' new status had they not read a report in a San Francisco newspaper that it was pending. "It would have been more pleasant," Mrs. Fancher said when told of Mullins' appointment, "if someone at the White House had discussed this with us." Apparently Mullins' new role does not include liaison with Republican youth.

McDonald and Mrs. Fancher, however, wished to reserve comment on the individual appointment. "We look forward to working in the President's youth program," said Mrs. Fancher, "and expect to meet with Mullins and Mr. Nixon concerning our role; we have not had an opportunity to discuss this yet, but we hope to in the future."

It is also apparent that leaders of Nixon's "personal" youth organization in last year's campaign—the United Citizens' Youth for Nixon-Agnew—were also not advised of Mullins' appointment. Other special interest GOP-oriented youth groups, from the liberal Ripon Society to the conservative Young Americans for Freedom, were similarly in the dark and are now angry. "The whole episode," said a youthful Republican who did yeoman work in the Nixon campaign, "is an insult—a gross error in courtesy."

Named with Mullins to Nixon's youth affairs staff, which is headed by former football coach Bud Wilkinson, was 24-year-old John Campbell, who, at least, is a Republican. However, prior to the 1968 GOP convention Campbell was head of the "New Majority for Rockefeller" committee and, after Nixon's nomination, did cursory service in the fall campaign. Campbell was associated with the Student Coalition for Nixon-Agnew, which concentrated on observing students' campaign activity in the major industrial states. He did no active campaigning for Nixon and actually held down a job with a New York City accounting firm during the campaign.

Details of the tasks Mullins and Campbell will be performing at the White House are not yet clear, although the two have been given a broad mandate. For now Mullins will only say "we certainly would be the place in the White House where problems affecting youth would come." One project he has in mind is looking for new ways to get young people active in service organizations, such as the Peace Corps and VISTA.

It might also be presumed that Mullins would be paying some attention to the problem of lining up youth support for President Nixon, with an eye on the 1972 presidential elections. However, says a government worker who has observed Mullins, "he's a Democrat all the way and I just can't see him ever waving the flag for Nixon."

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The Mullins affair is not an isolated incident of effrontery, nor should the Young Republican National Federation feel especially discriminated against. When President Nixon unveiled his proposal to remove postmaster positions from political patronage, he did not even bother to advise Republicans on the House and Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committees.

Two weeks ago prominent GOP senators gathered in private to grill Nixon congressional liaison Bryce Harlow on why they were not being consulted in drafting legislation. Aides to Republican congressmen also tell of phone calls to the White House going unreturned and of receiving a generally cold shoulder from Nixon aides.

Most of these disgruntled Republicans realize that a number of key Nixon aides are inexperienced in government and have yet to learn the ropes of protocol. Moreover, the Administration has been made explicitly aware of the GOP officials' complaints and pledges have been made to improve relations all around.

The next time President Nixon says "foward together," he may even include Republicans.

Ford's Grants to RFK Aides

A heart-warming instance of how Kennedyites take care of their own was disclosed last week when the House Small Business subcommittee revealed that the tax-exempt Ford Foundation had awarded eight former aides of the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy travel and study grants totaling more than $131,000.

In an effort to prevent the aides from falling to the poverty level, the foundation came forth with the following:

Kennedy press secretary Frank Mankiewicz, now a syndicated columnist, received $15,692 for a study of Peace Corps projects in Latin America. Advance man Jerry Brumo pocketed $19,450 for a six-month analysis of political campaigning. Speech-writer Adam Walinsky was given $22,000 for a review of "community self-determination," with a special emphasis on particular experiments in Eastern European countries. Earl Graves, Thomas Johnston, Dall Forsythe, Joseph Dolan and Peter Edelman were also on the receiving end.

While the press publicized the eight grants, most papers failed to note that Kennedy men also head the foundation. McGeorge Bundy, now president of the foundation, was JFK's chief White House adviser on foreign affairs, while vice president David E. Bell was JFK's first head of the Budget Bureau.

This all-too-cozy arrangement, uncovered by Rep. Wright Patman (D.-Tex.), may turn out to be the vital ammunition necessary to hamstring some of the foundation's more controversial activities, including its tax-free funding of left-wing experimental schools.

This week, for instance, the House Ways and Means Committee, which is studying tax reform proposals, will begin to scrutinize the foundation's strange and mysterious ways. Some tax reform experts believe if the committee uncovers only a little of what the foundation is doing, it may decide to severely limit its ability to toss tax-free money into a wide variety of activities.

GOP Launches Senate Drive

Republican strategists have quietly launched an all-out offensive to capture control of the U.S. Senate for the first time in 18 years.

Nearly two years before the 1970 elections, GOP pros are mapping ambitious plans. The Senate Republican Campaign Committee, under the direction of Texas' John Tower, is putting together a comprehensive budget that could top $1 million.

Outnumbered 57 to 43, Republicans need a net pickup of seven seats to deadlock the Senate and permit Vice President Spiro T. Agnew to cast the tie-breaking vote. A gain of eight or more seats would assure a Republican majority.

The Republicans insist that the Democrats are more vulnerable than at any time in recent years. Several of the 25 Democrats up for re-election were first elected in 1958, a disastrous year for the GOP, and then re-elected in the Johnson landslide of 1964. At least a dozen Democrats are in serious trouble. Among them:

• Howard Cannon of Nevada, a winner last time by 84 votes over an obscure Republican, Paul Laxalt. Republican Laxalt is no longer obscure, having captured the governorship, and he is reported ready to oppose Cannon once again.

• New Jersey's Harrison Williams, an upset winner in 1958 who benefited by the Johnson coattails six years later. Williams' extra-curricular high jinks have repeatedly embarrassed Democratic leaders and he will have a tough time even winning renomination.

• Texas' Ralph Yarborough, who owes his second term to Lyndon Johnson. Yarborough, who feuds continuously with Democratic leaders back home, could face a determined challenge from Rep. George Bush, powerful Houston vote-getter. Bush made a strong race against Yarborough in 1964, then won his House seat two years later.

• Stephen Young, the cranky Ohio liberal, ran one million votes behind Lyndon Johnson in 1964 but still managed to eke out a victory. Young, who

YOUNG

YARBOROUGH

will be 80 in 1970, is given virtually no chance for re-election.

Other seats coveted by the Republicans include those of Thomas Dodd (Conn.), Quentin Burdick (N.D.), Albert Gore (Tenn.), Gale McGee (Wyo.), Joseph Montoya (N.M.), Thomas McIntyre (N.H.), Frank Moss (Utah) and Spessard Holland (Fla.). Of the nine Republicans up for re-election, only one, Charles Goodell (N.Y.), is thought in difficulty. Democrats are expected to make a strong effort against California's George Murphy, but the former film star should repeat his 1964 victory.

Model Cities: Taxpayers' Burden

To help bring the fiscal 1970 budget into balance, economy-minded legislators are hoping that HUD Secretary George Romney will strip to the bone the model cities program he inherited from the Johnson Administration. He has put a temporary freeze on funds for the program while his department studies it and many members are urging him to make the freeze permanent.

Hailed by the liberals as a cure-all for cleaning up the slums, the model cities plan is an albatross around the neck of the economy. The cost of the scheme is already zooming into the billions.

Since Model Cities was enacted in 1966, more than 150 cities have started the involved planning process to implement the program. Currently some $925 million—$512 million in so-called supplemental grants and $413 million in urban renewal funds—has been moving from Washington to the cities under this expensive scheme.

During its final month in power, the Johnson Administration quickly approved five-year grants for nine of the cities, with $10-million-plus grants going to Boston and Baltimore. An additional 60 cities were anticipating similar grants at the end of Johnson's reign.

Funds seem relatively easy to obtain. When Mayor John Lindsay breezed into Washington recently, he got a promise from the White House that HUD would reserve $65 million for New York City as soon as Gotham finished its paperwork.

Because so many cities were eager to gobble up the federal money—which can be received by putting up only token matching funds—many feel that the Johnson Administration's budgeting of $750 million for the program in fiscal 1970 and $1.2 billion for fiscal 1971 is just a foretaste of things to come.

Casey Ireland, minority staff member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, thinks that the floodgates on model city spending are already open. Experts speculate that because there are some 18,000 cities eligible for the program, the cost may rise to $10 or $20 billion a year.

High costs are not all that is wrong with the program. Business support—one of the selling points of the liberals—has not materialized in many areas because militants have been allowed to squeeze the businessman out. Bill Boucher, a Baltimore businessman who served on an ad hoc Model Cities governing board until a neighborhood-based group took control, protested that during the first planning stages constructive ideas were hooted down "just because they came from the business community." In Detroit, several officials and businessmen report that "business is shut out" in model cities planning.

Racial militants have also harmed the program. In Atlanta the model cities program was being molded by members of the hate-inciting Ku Klux Klan. In Dayton, Ohio, a regional model cities chairman issued a race-baiting tirade against white society in general and any Negroes who cooperated with whites.

Moderate blacks are also dissatisfied with the model cities scheme because so much of the funds go toward urban renewal which they equate with "Negro removal."

Romney's selection of liberal Mayor Floyd Hyde of Fresno, Calif., as HUD's assistant secretary for Model Cities does not bode well for the budget watchers, for Hyde has been a strong proponent of the program. But Hyde is, at least, considered a bit more practical than his predecessor.

Economy advocates are not totally discouraged, however. Dr. Martin Anderson, author of the trailblazing expose of urban renewal, *The Federal Bulldozer*, is part of the legislative drafting team serving under White House adviser Arthur Burns. Since urban renewal comprises the largest chunk of the model cities program, Anderson, it is hoped, will be in a position to chop away at what is already proving to be an extraordinarily expensive burden for the very weary U.S. taxpayer.

Laird to Press for ABM System

Despite protests by liberal senators, Pentagon insiders are saying that Defense Secretary Melvin Laird has every intention at the present time of submitting plans to go ahead with an anti-ballistic missile system sometime in March. He is backed up by his chief researcher, Dr. John Foster, all the way.

Laird, it is believed, is still intent on reversing former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's policies of gutting America's defenses. He indicated this strongly last week when he stressed that the Russians have been spending $3.70 for every $1 we spend for defensive strategic weapons and outspend us at a 3-to-2 ratio for offensive strategic weapons.

Senators Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) John Tower (R.-Tex.) and Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) are planning to lead the fight against ratification of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty that is shortly expected to come before the Senate. The senators face an uphill battle, but much may depend on how hot the Soviets make it for Nixon on his trip abroad.

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What If Bucher Had Fired Back?

By FREDERIC NELSON

Between perusals of accounts of what Navy hardboots, brave columnists and radio hams think Cmdr. Lloyd Bucher ought to have done when assailed by a flock of Communist navy ships, I find myself speculating on what would have happened if the harassed commander of the *Pueblo* actually *had* fired a feeble shot or two at the enemy. It's a fascinating exercise for even the average imagination, if somewhat alarming for Americans concerned for the defense of their country.

In January 1968, one needs to remind oneself, Senators Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy were neck-and-neck in a fight for the leadership of those who wanted to scuttle out of the war in Viet Nam. Members of the Students for a Democratic Society, et al., were burning draft cards and American flags from coast to coast.

A few days before the outrage off the North Korean coast, Sen. George Aiken of Vermont, as quoted in the New York *Times*, gave out the soothing thought that we were not fighting Communists as such in Viet Nam. It seems the Viet Cong were just "nationalists." And Lyndon Johnson was still talking, albeit a little plaintively, about building bridges to the USSR.

So when, on January 23, Cmdr. Bucher found himself surrounded by North Korean privateers with their guns trained on his ill-armed ship, his problems must have included the question whether to heed John Paul Jones or Sen. J. W. Fulbright, who on a previous occasion had gone to great pains to prove that another American naval craft had no business being in the Tonkin Gulf at all!

Armed as he was with burlesque firepower, the commander had his hands full. If he had obeyed that impulse and let them have it with a missile more lethal than a coffee cup, his crew might easily have been wiped out to a man. That was one hazard; another was what would be the consequences on the so-called home front. Recalling what happened to Gen. Westmoreland for having the effrontery to suggest that we might win the Viet Nam war, I append a few hypothetical but not completely "way out" suggestions.

Sen. McCarthy, upon hearing the news that an American ship had actually resisted piracy on the high seas, would certainly have demanded that Bucher be court-martialed for widening the war in Asia.

Sen. Fulbright, demanding an investigation, would have called attention once more to the menace of the military-industrial complex, adding that he was sure the *Pueblo* had fired the first shot and was probably off limits anyway.

Tom Hayden, Students for a Democratic Society, and their ilk would have organized mass picketing of the Pentagon, waving North Korean flags and chanting:

"Bucher stank.
Let him walk the plank!"

Mothers, wives and sweethearts of the *Pueblo*'s crew would be getting anonymous telephone calls in the sense of "I'm glad your blood-thirsty son is dead!" Students at the University of Nebraska would occupy the dean's office demanding Bucher's name be stricken from the alumni roll and assigned to Notre Dame instead.

The *Nation* would come up with an editorial entitled, "When Caught Spying, Blame the Victim!" The New York *Times* would be snowed under with full-page advertisements signed by "One Thousand Scientists," "Eight Hundred Professors of Social Science," or "Six Hundred Computer Programmers," etc., urging somebody or other to "End U.S. Aggression in Asia" or "Punish Blood and Guts Navalists," etc., etc.

Demonstrations regarding the Pueblo would be far different from this one in front of the State Department had Cmdr. Bucher tried to fight it out with the North Koreans.

The actual reaction to the news wasn't so very different. There were a few scattered cries of "Shame!" from old quarterdeck hands, and a few questions as to why the *Pueblo*'s secret material was allowed to fall into enemy hands.

More typical, however, was Sen. Fulbright's statement that, in view of the time it took him to find out what had happened in the Tonkin Gulf, he thought it would be a long time before the truth about the *Pueblo* was arrived at. Coincidentally, the *Times* mentioned a book by Wilfred Burchett, charitably identified as a "left-wing journalist," in which the author charged that the U.S.A. was maneuvering to egg North Korea into attacking South Korea in order to get the Japanese into the Vietnamese war!

Editorially the *Times* declared that, "remembering the Gulf of Tonkin, Americans would be wise to keep cool and not leap to conclusions—as some members of Congress have already done." Scotty Reston added that action to save the *Pueblo* "could have quickly reopened the war along the 38th parallel of North Korea." Striking while the iron was hot, he added that the incident showed "how vulnerable we are *under present policies* to new diversionary attacks on areas we are committed to defend" (emphasis added).

At the official level little if anything was said about what Cmdr. Bucher ought to have done or what response should have been made to the Communist attack.

President Johnson's first move was an attempt to persuade the Russians to help him convince the North Koreans that they ought to return the *Pueblo*—before they had had a chance to look over the ship's electronic devices yet! Naturally the Kremlin turned this down. Then U Thant was appealed to. Another dry hole.

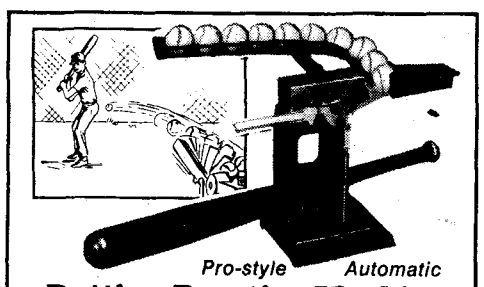
Senators Strom Thurmond and Richard Russell urged a strong stand, but nobody up front appeared to be listening. Sen. McCarthy, *mirabile dictu*, declined to make a statement. After all, with the *Pueblo* in North Korean hands, it *would* have looked silly to demand that it withdraw immediately!

Cmdr. Bucher and his men have experienced a year of agony in a Communist prison camp. Bucher has also had his soul turned inside out by Navy inquisitors who justifiably want to know exactly what happened.

However, the *Pueblo* personnel, through inability to resist the piratical marauders, have been spared quite a lot. Whatever happens to them, they need not fear charges, assaults, sneers and abuses levelled against them by Students for a Democratic Society, Women Strike for Peace, Sen. Fulbright, Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Viet Nam, assorted Hippies, Yippies and Chippies—you name 'em, they'd all be after Mr. Bucher's scalp if he'd fired and survived. So, Commander, there is something to be thankful for after all!

□ □ □

ART NOTE—The New York City Department of Cultural Affairs is currently sponsoring, at taxpayer expense, a work by sculptor Les Levine. Levine's work, entitled "The Process of Elimination," began when he carefully laid down 330 disposable plastic curves on a vacant city lot; each day for a month he will remove (and presumably dispose of) 10 of the curves. The work is concluded when all are removed. That's the way they spend tax revenues in Fun City.



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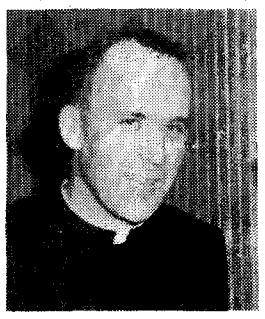

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"The Senate Internal Security subcommittee in Washington has performed a valuable service by publishing **The New Left**, a study of collegiate and other radical-left activities across the nation. . . .

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DOLLARS AND DEFICITS by Milton Friedman (Prentice-Hall, 279 pages, $6.95)

"Milton Friedman, economics professor, magazine columnist and positive thinker, frightens a good many people. The terrified group includes, but is by no means restricted to, those students who stumble into his University of Chicago class ill-prepared. . . .

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"The author's basic belief is in a sense political: That 'freedom is the major objective in relations among individuals.' 'The preservation of freedom,' he is firmly convinced, 'requires limiting narrowly the role of government and placing primary reliance on private property, free markets and voluntary arrangements.'

"Since he is entirely wedded to free markets (this, he insists, is a scientific, not a value judgment), he is naturally repelled by any form of price control. . . ."—From the **Wall Street Journal**

COUNTERPLOT by Edward Jay Epstein (Viking, 182 pages, $4.95)

"Written by the author of the thoughtful critique, 'Inquest: The Warren Commission and the Establishment of Truth,' this is a survey of New Orleans District Attorney Garrison's claim to have definite evidence of a conspiracy in the slaying of President Kennedy—and another conspiracy aiming to conceal the truth about the assassination. . . ."—From **Publisher's Weekly**

THE WEIGHT OF THE EVIDENCE: The Warren Report and Its Critics, Edited by Jay David (Meredith Press, 303 pages, $6.95)

"An anthology of criticisms of the Warren Commission report . . . and a comparatively small section by 'the critics of the critics.' No more than two chapters are given from each book; there are no illustrations; and the editor's comment is more descriptive than critical."—From **Publisher's Weekly**

THE HAWKS OF WORLD WAR II by Mark Lincoln Chadwin (University of North Carolina Press, 310 pages, $7.95)

"The shocking impact of Pearl Harbor swept the United States into World War II with the sentiment and support of the great majority of citizens mobilized behind the war effort. But before that act of aggression, America had been divided into two general camps, the isolationists and the interventionists, who sought to capture the allegiance of the American people and thereby influence foreign policy.

"Mr. Chadwin . . . has taken a long look at a group of interventionists who advocated an American declaration of war against Germany. He is careful to warn us that he has written not a history of all the special pleaders for American belligerency but 'rather the story of a particular group of eminent men who were the most persistent and outspoken partisans of interventionism during 1940 and 1941.'"—By Martin Blumenson in the Washington **Star**

'Welfare Mothers' Launch Drive

A nationwide group of "welfare mothers" has launched a high-powered drive to secure such "basic rights" as a guaranteed annual income of $4,400 and sharply increased relief payments.

Backed up by the United Auto Workers and other labor unions, the National Welfare Rights Organization vows a concerted effort in every section of the country. "If necessary, we will take to the streets," says a NWRO official. "We have done so before."

Members of the NWRO executive committee met behind closed doors for two days recently, shaping strategy and drawing up a legislative package that will be introduced by unnamed friends on Capitol Hill. Among the demands:

- The minimum annual income of $4,400. NWRO officials feel that even this figure is inadequate but are willing to accept it as the first step.
- A giant public works program that would provide jobs for three million slum dwellers.
- "Dignity" through elimination of the "demeaning" residency requirements, investigations of need, and "harassment" by social workers.
- Repeal of legislation that requires welfare mothers to work or lose their federal welfare payments. The legislation, enacted by Congress last year, also froze the number of welfare children in an attempt to penalize illegitimacy.

"These are not utopian demands," said a NWRO spokesman. "They are what America owes us and we mean to get them."

Last Chapter

Lyndon Tells Frances Knight 'Thanks' on Passport Episode

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Forty-eight hours before his term of office ended, President Johnson cleared away the last elements of mystery clinging to an episode which kicked up a political storm here three years ago.

At a meeting in the White House with Miss Frances G. Knight, director of the Passport Office, the President dictated the final chapter to a tale of hidden intrigue involving the resignation of a bureau chief in 1966.

On January 18 Johnson belatedly realized that he and his family were about to lose another of the many privileges associated with high office—they could no longer travel abroad without passports.

A hasty summons was sent to Miss Knight. She hurried over with passport application forms for the President, his wife, and their two daughters.

When all the details had been supplied, including date and place of birth, color of eyes and hair, occupation, etc., Miss Knight administered the required oath of allegiance to all. The President stood before her, with hand upraised, and swore "to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies. . . ."

A little breathless from an experience usually reserved to chief justices of the United States at inaugural ceremonies, Miss Knight was overwhelmed when the President then took her hand between his and uttered some words of sympathy for the "harassment" she had suffered.

"Miss Knight, I want you to know how much I appreciate the good service you have given us," Johnson said. "You have done an outstanding job in the face of many great difficulties. I know about the harassment you have had to take and the trouble some people have tried to make for you. But there are many of us who know and admire what you have done."

Both knew that the President was referring to the furor here in Washington in 1966 which ended with the resignation of Abba P. Schwartz as administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs in the State Department.

Schwartz, a wealthy bachelor prominent in Georgetown society, was Miss Knight's superior. When he took office in 1962, he soon was feuding with her over what he called her restrictive policy in withholding passports for travel of persons with Communist backgrounds. He announced in 1963 that her days were numbered. He wound up three years later wondering what had happened to him.

Miss Knight's status in government, after 22 years in which she has transformed the Passport Office into a model of efficiency, has been compared to that of J. Edgar Hoover—untouchable. She has a host of admirers in both parties on Capitol Hill.

Schwartz, however, was a formidable foe. He was on intimate terms with both President Kennedy, who appointed him, and Robert F. Kennedy, then attorney general. The Schwartz-Knight battle became symbolic, after the President's assassination, of the widening breach between the forces backing Bobby Kennedy and those supporting the Johnson Administration.

The secret power plays employed by both sides provide a classic story of government infighting. Schwartz proposed a re-organization of the bureau which would have eliminated Miss Knight. He fired off a resignation to Johnson which he expected to be rejected. It was coldly accepted.

Indignant liberals suspected White House intervention, but Marvin Watson, then presidential assistant, blankly inquired: "Schwartz? The only Schwartz I ever heard of is a man in Galveston."

Johnson's words now confirmed that he, indeed, had not only been fully informed of the entire affair but had acted to end it.

"I know of and appreciate your intercession in my behalf when the going was the roughest," Miss Knight told him.

"That's because you have done such a good job for the country," Johnson said.

"I think he felt a sort of kinship for me because he's had his own harassments," Miss Knight commented. "It was a memorable moment."

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

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SILVER LININGS—"Early last month three gunmen held up an office at the Health, Education and Welfare Department in Washington, D.C., and made off with $25,000. The taxpayers may still be ahead. If the three culprits had enrolled in the Job Corps, they would have cost the government $9,000 each, with little to show for it at the end of a year. This way, they saved us $2,000 and have $25,000 in cash to start a self-help program of their own. The 'Great Society's' follies taught us to look for silver linings."
—From the Richmond *News Leader*

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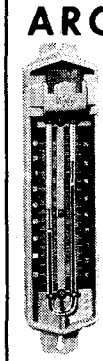

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H.R. Gross: The Taxpayers' Favorite Mr. 'No'

By ROBERT E. BAUMAN

During the delivery of his last State of the Union speech before a joint session of Congress on Jan. 15, 1969, soon-to-be ex-President Lyndon Baines Johnson glanced up at "The President's Gallery" in the House Chamber and was dismayed to see tears in the eyes of his beloved First Ladybird. Later, LBJ told reporters at the National Press Club, he had asked his wife what the tears were for.

"They were tears of fear," she told him. The reason was their 19-month-old grandson, Patrick Lyndon Nugent, was waving his baby bottle around, causing Mrs. Johnson to fear "it would slip and hit H. R. Gross right on the top of the head." A bit ruefully, LBJ added, "I guess she felt that every Congress should have one H. R. Gross. I guess she wanted to preserve him."

Presidential solicitude for his personal welfare was no doubt a surprise to Rep. H. R. Gross. But the veteran conservative who has represented Iowa's 3rd Congressional District since 1949 was safely out of range of little Lyn's brandished bottle. He was not even in the Chamber. "I didn't go to that love-in," said Rep. Gross. "I've got better things to do."

Of the thousands of members of Congress Lyndon Johnson has known since he came to Washington in 1934, what made him single out this recalcitrant Republican from Iowa as he bade farewell to Capitol Hill?

Harold Royce Gross (universally known to friend and foe as "H.R.") has become accustomed to such critical distinction almost since the day he first took his oath of office in the House more than 20 years ago. With tight-fisted determination, he built a reputation as a fighting conservative who never misses a chance to promote ethics in government, insist that Congress live up to its own rules and—most important—save the taxpayers from being fleeced.

A constant reminder of his philosophy is a framed quotation that sits on a table in the lobby of his office. It states: "Nothing is easier than the expenditure of public money. It does not appear to belong to anybody. The temptation is overwhelming to bestow it on somebody." Next to it is a photo of a Rockwell, Iowa, swimming pool with the caption: "Constructed without ANY Federal funds, 1967."

To meet Rep. Gross gives no hint of the emotions he has aroused in politicians from President down to precinct worker.

Small in stature (only five feet, six inches and 135 pounds), he has a stern visage that infrequently breaks into a relaxing grin—a blend of a small-town-banker-about-to-foreclose and Buster Keaton's mischievous but deadpan self-composure. A square and determined jaw, drooping eyelids that give him a slightly sleepy look, thinning grey hair, garnished with eyeglasses and a pipe, Gross could easily pass for anybody's uncle.

In private, Rep. Gross is soft-spoken, as gloriously uncomplicated and matter-of-fact as the 400,000 Iowans he represents in Congress. He talks fluently

and forcefully about his background and beliefs, always with a strong sense of conviction, bordering on self-righteousness. On the Floor of the House he can be abrupt and biting, his voice rising to just the degree of indignation appropriate to his target, personal or legislative.

When Democrat Wayne Hays (Ohio) tried to interject a word in favor of a 1964 pay raise proposal, for instance, Gross acidly remarked: "Does the gentleman, who is a pretty good spender in his own right of the taxpayers' money, think he can make a contribution at this time?" Hays burned, but Gross, momentarily at least, managed to block the measure.

Gross' sarcasm also swept over Rep. Frank Thompson (D.-N.J.) and other liberal House Democrats who were trying to double the federal subsidies for American artists last year.

Bluntly condemning the proposed increase as "twaddle," Gross proclaimed that if the $135 million were voted he would send a cable "to the Marines at Khe Sanh"—then under Communist siege—and tell them "what wonderful progress is being made here at home. . . ." The Democrats lost that one too.

Gross' taste in clothes, like his politics, is conservative. It runs to suits in grey or dark blue set off by neckties considered fashionable at local meetings of the VFW, American Legion, the Elks and the Masons, in all of which he holds membership. Working late at his office typewriter, as he often does, one expects to see galluses on his shirt sleeves and perhaps a green eyeshade.

A Presbyterian, Gross enjoys fresh water fishing for relaxation, and has been known to have a drink or two at the very few Washington social gatherings he and his wife, Hazel, attend. Says Gross, "I've never owned a tuxedo and my wife has no ball gown. We don't need them."

Lyndon Johnson in particular has many reasons to remember H. R. Gross; the Iowan's determined effort to ferret out the facts in the Bobby Baker affair; his successful battle to stop the nomination of Hubert Humphrey's crony, the scandal-tinged Max Kampelman, as president of the D.C. City Council; his constant exposure of waste and graft; his unrelenting use of the rules of the House of Representatives as a tool to cut, hack, and prune millions of dollars from "Great Society" legislation.

Johnson, in fact, hardly had time to savor his 1964 presidential victory before Gross managed to pounce. During House debate on the bill appropriating the extra funds necessary to accommodate the color broadcasting equipment, the Iowa curmudgeon asked the pertinent question: "Is there any way, at the time the inaugural [ceremonies are] being carried out, that we can somehow picture the federal debt in living color?"

Indeed, every occupant of the White House during Rep. Gross' tenure in Congress has had reason to be wary. The Iowa Republican acknowledges that he had "differences of opinion" with Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, and expects the same may be true with President Nixon ("though that depends on him," Gross adds with a smile).

> There are currently in existence in the world 134 independent nations and this member of Congress has finally discovered the number to which we have not given foreign aid. It is an appallingly brief list, but here it is: Andorra, Barbados, Bhutan, Bulgaria, Liechtenstein, Maldive Islands, Mauritius, Monaco, Muscat and Oman, Nauru, Rumania, San Marino, Southern Yemen, Switzerland and the Vatican City. That's the lot. The reason why we haven't given these nations a handout is hard to fathom. Perhaps they just didn't ask for one. Perhaps the giveaway artists in the State Department have been so busy handing out money to the rest of the world they haven't discovered their oversight. In any event, let us keep this list a close secret lest the State Department spendthrifts learn of these new opportunities for spewing away the wealth of this nation.
>
> **—Rep. H.R. Gross, 9-14-68**

Sharp-tongued and quick-witted, Rep. Gross arrives in the House Chamber each day before the session begins at the stroke of noon. As the chaplain's daily prayer ends and the Clerk reads the journal of the previous day's proceedings, Gross sits, grim-faced and thoroughly prepared for anything that might happen.

Though only party leaders have assigned seats in the House, Gross has by now acquired what has become "his seat," at the end of the Republican leadership table, three rows from the front and strategically located on the center aisle which divides the Democrats and the Republicans. From this spot, directly in front of the rostrum and the Speaker of the House, Gross cannot fail to be recognized—unless by intention.

Throughout a typical daily session of the House, Gross will often be on his feet, offering amendments and asking questions about bills, although he usually already knows the answers himself. If ever a surprise bill is called up, it will automatically invite Gross' closest scrutiny. He refuses to rest until he is confident that nothing has been put over on the American taxpayer.

As a result of his keen watchdog abilities, Gross was instrumental last year in blocking a bill that would have jumped congressional retirement benefits by a whopping 33-1/3 per cent. Gross discovered that the pension hike plan, which, if it was to be considered at all, should have been before the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, had been transferred to the Foreign Affairs Committee. The actual title of the bill, he disclosed, referred to Foreign Service retirement benefits, but didn't carry a single word about gigantic congressional pension increases. The pension boost, further, was deviously put under the heading, "other purposes." Largely due to Gross' roar of indignation about this pigskin-under-the-jersey move, the bill was flattened.

Gross was unsuccessful this year in stopping congressmen from padding their pockets with the taxpayers' money. But when Congress handed itself a hefty salary hike two weeks ago—raising the annual salaries for legislators from $30,000 to $42,500—it was not through inattention of the Iowa lawmaker.

Under somewhat peculiar procedures established by Congress in 1967, federal pay hikes for congressmen, top government executives and judges were to be formulated by a special commission. Based on the commission's findings, the President was to submit his own pay proposals to Congress—which LBJ did on January 15. These recommended pay hikes, in turn, would automatically go into effect within 30 days unless either the Senate or the House decided to veto them.

Most lawmakers loved the whole arrangement. Under it, they didn't have to initiate, debate or really be held accountable for the pay hikes. They could always blame the commission or the President rather than themselves for setting whatever salaries they might receive. Furthermore, they were well aware the procedure gave little time for the foes of any pay raise proposal to muster strong opposition within the 30-day period.

Iowa's economy crusader, however, was not willing to let his colleagues get off so easily. He first put House members on the spot in 1967 when he came within a whisker of defeating the commission procedure through a roll-call vote. When LBJ submitted his pay proposal this January, Gross im-

Mr. Bauman spent several years as an aide to Republicans in the House. He is a former National Chairman of Young Americans for Freedom. Currently a Maryland lawyer, Mr. Bauman also serves as Secretary of the American Conservative Union.

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mediately put veto measures before the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and the Rules Committee, hoping the House would get a chance to strike down the pay raise before it went into effect on February 14. After both committees killed his proposal; i.e., wouldn't let it come to the floor for a vote, the majority of the House felt certain they were now home free and wouldn't have to face any rollcall test on the pay raise. Thus, they seemed to be in a very enviable position which would permit them to receive a pay hike while being able to tell economy-minded voters back home that they had no chance to block it. But they hadn't fully reckoned with Gross' bag of tricks.

As the House turned from the issue of the pay raise and routinely voted to adjourn for the Lincoln Day recess beginning on February 7, Gross suddenly objected on the ground that a quorum wasn't present. Gross' objection forced a rollcall on whether the House should adjourn.

The Iowan's purpose was clear: since the pay hike would take effect during the recess, all those voting for adjournment were, in effect, voting to let the pay raise bill go through. The adjournment motion carried 241 to 125, but Gross had finally managed to force each lawmaker to take some sort of stand on the pay raise issue.

This kind of dedicated and constant vigilance keeps every member of the House on his guard, trying to guess what Gross may do. Says one Northern liberal, attesting to Gross' effectiveness, "I've attended many committee hearings when the chairman will study a bill and make sure we can answer the knotty questions Gross will ask. Many times items will be dropped before the bill hits the floor because of him."

What gives Rep. Gross such undeniable leverage is his mastery of the parliamentary rules that govern the conduct of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Without hesitation, he can summon from the rule book motions that automatically give him another five minutes to speak (this motion—"to strike the enacting clause" in a bill—must be offered in writing, so Gross always carries a printed copy in his pocket).

Perhaps most frequently, Rep. Gross will object to a "unanimous consent request," the parliamentary device which permits the House to conduct so much of its business without formal recorded votes. So often did Rep. Gross invoke the rule which required "an engrossed third copy" of a bill once it is passed (which meant, printed with all amendments that had been adopted) that the Democratic leadership had the House rules amended to eliminate the requirement. Subsequently, a federal minimum wage bill was passed by the House and only later was it discovered that the incorrect wording of one of the amendments had dropped thousands of people from coverage under the law.

There are hundreds of other rules governing Congress which have allowed Rep. Gross to stall or stop the legislative process. He has mastered them all, and by his unrelenting presence, assures that they will be used to the fullest. To the delight of conservatives, his precious knowledge is almost always utilized in defense of conservative principles.

Not without cause, most liberals, and even some "sophisticated" conservatives, whether in Congress or in the fourth estate, have only a haughty disdain for Gross and his "obstructionism." They view his work on the House Floor as

As a radio broadcaster in the '30s, Gross became well known throughout the Hawkeye State.

"negative, reactionary, a thwarting of progress."

Redbook magazine once called Gross "one of the 10 worst members of Congress," and in 1954 *Life* ranked him on the "Neanderthal Right" with such notables as the late Sen. Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin, former Senators Bill Jenner of Indiana and John Bricker of Ohio.

Life had the creator of *Pogo*, Walt Kelly, depict a band of Capitol Hill conservatives as so many willful children impeding the progress of the legislative school bus by their antics. Rep. Gross was pictured as a kid with a slingshot sitting next to the driver. He values the cartoon highly, mostly due to what he terms the honor of being included with such "great names out of the past."

In a 1965 *Newsday* story, entitled "Congressman No," the Democratic majority leader of the House, Rep. Carl Albert of Oklahoma, took a different view. He conceded that Gross made his life more difficult, but added that he considered him "a charming person of integrity and conscience." Said the Democratic leader, "He has long been a symbol of economy and undoubtedly has saved many millions of dollars over the years."

What started Rep. Gross on the path to his unchallenged title of "watchdog of the Congress"? In a recent interview the Iowa lawmaker said he well remembers the day during his first term when he objected to a Senate-passed "housekeeping" bill which contained certain "goodies" for the Senate side. Even before this, Gross says, he had the "uneasy feeling that things had been getting by the House that shouldn't have."

The bill on which he decided to take his first stand was inconsequential. Unfortunately for Gross, it was being handled on the House Floor by the late Rep. E. E. Cox of Georgia, famous for his sulphurous temper.

The Georgian, then in his 80s, had only a few years before attempted to clout the current dean of the House, the late Adolph Sabath of Illinois, with an inkwell. If Cox had so little concern for the welfare of a fellow Democrat, he had none at all for the freshman Republican congressman from Iowa who challenged him on that long-forgotten day in 1949.

So challenged, Cox was furious. In a stroke of genius, Rep. Gross resorted to what has become a familiar tactic in his bag of legislative devices—he made the point that a quorum of the House was not present. During the rollcall (which requires the attendance of at least a majority of the full House membership of 435) Cox crossed over to Gross and "gave me a short sermon about comity between the House and Senate," according to the congressman.

When the quorum ended, Cox restated the need for "comity" with the Senate, calling for the immediate passage of the housekeeping bill. Rep. Gross rose to his feet, objecting again, and questioned whether this bill constituted "comity" or "comedy," though in any case he doubted it would amuse the taxpayers. At that, recalls Gross, "Cox hit the ceiling, and took my hide off in short strips."

From that day forward, Rep. Gross has made it his business to know exactly what goes on in Congress, regardless of alleged "comity" towards any individual or group.

Seventy years ago, June 30, 1899, Harold Royce Gross was born on a farm near Arispe in southern Iowa. He recalls that his family was poor but "my father worked hard and he was a money-maker." Young H. R. milked cows and worked in the fields when he wasn't attending rural schools.

"Those were the days of horsepower, all right," he remembers. "My father worked so hard he didn't have much time for the family. My mother was the one person who had the most influence on me as a boy." Gross remembers that his father and mother were both Republicans ("everyone was in Iowa, then"), but it was his mother who took a sustained interest in politics.

Somewhat regretfully, Gross says, "I don't brag about it, but I never finished my second year in high school. I guess I'm one of the original 'drop outs" and I don't recommend it to anyone." The year was 1916 and Pancho Villa, the Mexican revolutionary bandit, was terrorizing Americans living along the Texas border. Gross recalls wistfully, "I was 17 years old and I was tired of farming. I wanted to get out and see the world. I was adventurous."

As times change, the path taken by a 17-year-old Iowa "drop out" in 1916 was not to any latter-day Hippie haven. Instead, he "ran away from home, lied about my age and joined the U.S. Army. To this day, Army records show my birthdate as 1898." He was immediately transferred to the Mexican border where he served under the command of soon-to-be Gen. John J. "Black Jack" Pershing.

In 1917, when the United States entered the First World War, the young lad from Arispe, serving in the First Iowa Field Artillery, AEF, was among the first soldiers to be sent to France. His unit saw combat action at Chateau Thierry, and in the Meuse-Argonne Valley campaign, some of the fiercest battles of the war.

Recalling those days, Rep. Gross noted that he has not been out of the United States since he returned from France in 1919, "unless you can call a fishing expedition 40 miles into the Gulf of Mexico last year a trip abroad." Chided about his constant opposition to congressional "junketing" overseas, Gross said, "I just might take a trip one of these days to see the places I've been, but it'll be at my own expense."

In 1919 Gross entered the University of Missouri School of Journalism as a special student. Because he lacked a high school diploma, he could not attain a degree, but he was allowed to audit the courses. There he met the late Scripps-Howard columnist Lyle Wilson, who later recalled Gross as "an opinionated, slightly built, hard-nosed fellow," a description of Gross that Wilson later said didn't need changing much with the passage of time.

From 1921 to 1935, Gross held various jobs as reporter and editor for Iowa newspapers. Ironically, one of his journalistic heroes was that great debunker of small town America, H. L. Mencken, whose own biting wit was not unlike the famous Gross sarcasm: "Any comparison between Mencken and myself is odious," says Gross. "Mencken had a great intellect," he adds modestly.

In 1929, on the day before his 30th birthday, the young editor was married to Miss Hazel E. Webster of Cresco, Iowa, "a fine Iowa farm girl who has been of tremendous importance in my life," says the congressman. Now an attractive gray-haired grandmother, smartly dressed and vivacious, Mrs. Gross has supported her husband throughout his sometimes stormy political career.

They have two sons, Phil, 36, an attorney with the Securities and Exchange Commission in Washington, and Alan, 32, who is making a career in the U.S. Air Force. Both are married and Alan has a young son.

"When I first ran for Congress we had two little boys to take care of," remembers Rep. Gross, "but my wife

I was leafing through the **Federal Register** the other day and came upon a ukase put out by the benevolent bureaucrats of the Interior Department.

I wish to pay proper respect to Mr. Udall's minions who have acted with courage, with farsightedness, with compassion, and with their ever-present sense of priorities. They have prohibited you and me from molesting whales.

Never having been a whale molester, I was unaware of the apparently pressing need for Section 230.50 of this regulation, but I think those who may have toyed with the idea should be aware of the new rules.

They state, in part—and I quote:

"The chasing, molesting, exciting, or interfering with, through the use of firearms or by any other manner or means, of any whale—is prohibited."

The regulation goes on to forbid fooling around with baleen whales, blue whales, gray whales, humpback whales, right whales, and toothed whales.

But, like many another bureaucratic regulation, this one has loopholes, and it turns out you can do almost anything to a whale if you are "hunting, killing, taking, towing, holding onto"—that is what it says—"or scouting for whales."

If you somehow manage to obtain a whale without molesting it, the Interior Department says you must measure the whale, and in case you do not know how to measure a whale, the bureaucrats spell it out for you inch by inch, and I quote:

"Whales must be measured when at rest on deck or platform, as accurately as possible by means of a steel tape measure fitted at the zero end with a spiked handle which can be stuck into the deck planking abreast one end of the whale.

"The tape measure shall be stretched in a straight line [that's what it says] parallel with the whale's body and read abreast of the other end of the whale."

End of lesson. I wait with bated breath the Interior Department's regulations concerning the capture of dichromatic herbivorous ungulates, which, I understand, is a real dilly.

—Rep. H.R. Gross, 5-11-68

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worked the typewriter at home. As soon as the boys were old enough, she accompanied me in almost all my campaigning." Mrs. Gross shares her husband's beliefs and is one of his strongest defenders.

When Gross was one of the few congressmen to object to giving Mrs. Jackie Kennedy Onassis a government pension ("She certainly doesn't need it.") Mrs. Gross commented, "I don't care if it does defeat him, he's absolutely right." Gross was re-elected afterwards with a bigger majority than ever.

Within six months after his marriage, the Great Depression was upon the land. Nowhere did it have a more damaging effect economically than on the farms and the farmers of the Midwest.

Rep. Gross still speaks with undisguised passion about the plight of Iowa farmers during the Depression. He recalls seeing crops, livestock and land sold at public auction, to satisfy mortgage claims and debts. "Why, they would take everything but the farmer's wife and children, including the shirt off his back," Gross recalls.

Iowa has always had a strong tinge of prairie radicalism in its politics, beginning in the 1870s when, with much of the Midwest, Iowa was swept by the Grange movement and the Populist and Greenback parties. The same underlying economic inequities that plagued the farmers before the turn of the century gave rise to the National Farmers Union which flourished during the Depression.

It was this "radical" group, demanding help for the farmers from the federal government, which attracted the young H. R. Gross. "Hogs were selling at 5¢ a pound; $5 a hundred," he recalls. "You can't understand what they did to the farmers and I grew up as a farmer. Farmers were taking an awful beating." Rep. Gross notes that the National Farmers Union "of that day was far different from the left-wing group it has become today."

"I'll always fight for the farmer," says the Iowa Republican. "Agriculture is the basic industry of America. New wealth comes from the soil, and I think the farmer should be able to get his fair share. The farmer is the only businessman who is forced to buy on a closed market with fixed prices, but must sell his products on an open market where supply and demand determine the price. I don't want government regulation or price supports, but we can't permit our farm economy to collapse."

In 1933, with the Depression at its worst, the Democrats swept to power and, for the first time in memory in Iowa, they took control of the governor's chair and both houses of the state legislature. Gross was then the editor of a National Farmers Union newspaper. He recalls how, even though the Democrats were in control, Iowa farmers got the "short end of the stick."

On the first day that the new Iowa legislature met in Des Moines in 1933, a bill was introduced allowing banks and insurance companies to declare a moratorium on all payments to their depositors and policy-holders, the majority of them farmers. Within 24 hours it was passed and signed into law.

"I raised unshirted hell with those politicians in my newspaper," Gross said. "Especially when it took them more than a month to call a moratorium on the forced sales of the farmers' land. Meanwhile, almost every farmer who was behind in his debts lost his land and even his chattels."

Within a year, "Charlie" Gross, as he was called in those days, was to be given the chance that would propel him into politics and the U.S. Congress. In 1934, radio station WHO in Des Moines, the state capital, went on the air, and Gross was the first news director and newscaster.

"I was billed as 'the fastest tongue in radio,' because of my rapid-fire 'Walter Winchell' delivery," says Gross. "I was supposed to give the news, but I guess a little opinion crept in."

As sportscaster and staff announcer, a young fellow from Tampico, Ill., read the commercials for Gross' daily news program. His name was Ronald "Dutch" Reagan, now the governor of California. To this day the two are close friends.

For the next six years the powerful 50,000 watts of WHO broadcast the voice of the Iowa crusader for farmers' rights, "Charlie" Gross. Gross' words beamed out over some of the richest and best farm land in the nation. (Not until 1965 was a greater share of Iowa's income to be produced by industry rather than by farming). In the 1930s, the great majority of the Iowa voters lived on farms or in small towns. To them, Gross' words, chattering daily out of the old Atwater-Kent radio on the kitchen shelf, were good as law.

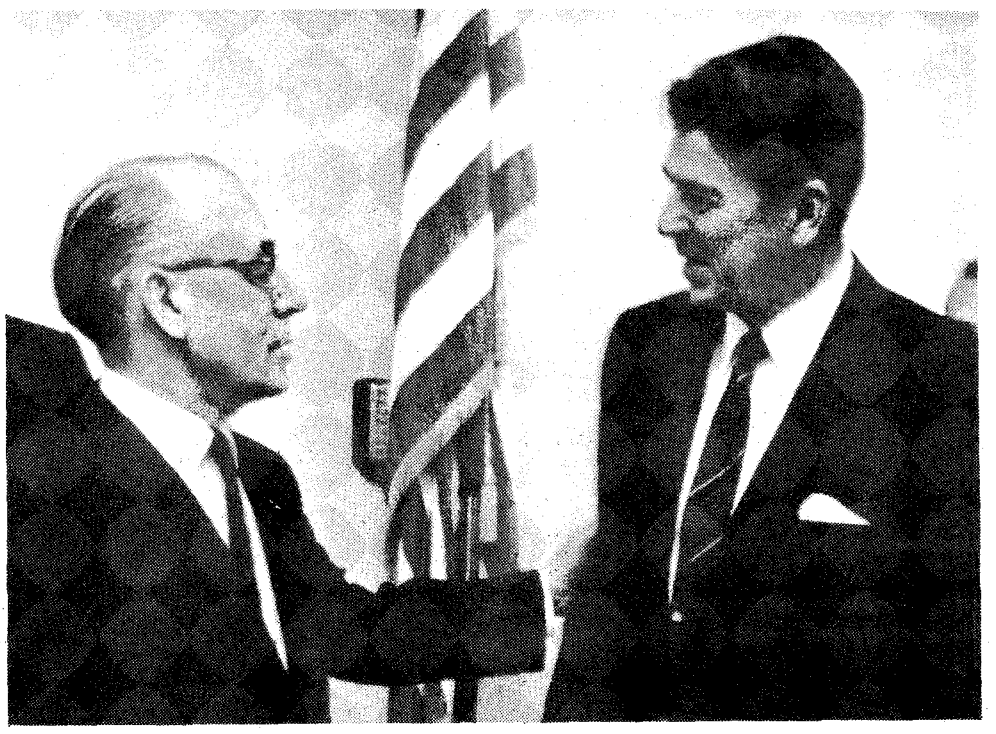
"I was accomplishing Rule No. 1 in politics," says Gross. "I was becoming known all over the state of Iowa."

In 1940, without consulting Republican party leaders, Gross did an unheard-of thing. He filed for the GOP nomination for governor against the incumbent Republican, George A. Wilson, just ending his first two-year term. "I had no money and no organization, but the people knew me," says Gross.

In a rough-and-tumble primary, the party leaders "to a man" openly broke the party's tradition of neutrality and opposed Gross. They fielded a third candidate (who got 20,000 votes) in order to drain away his rural support. Even so, "the fastest tongue in radio" came within 16,000 votes of unseating the Republican governor of Iowa. Gross did carry a majority of Iowa's 99 counties, most of them rural. While Republican leaders were shaken, Gross' problem was more acute: He was out of a job, having resigned to make the race for the nomination.

From 1940 through 1944 Gross served as a news commentator for station WLW in Cincinnati, Ohio, and, for a time, at WISH in Indianapolis, Ind.

For most of his life, Gross made his home in Waterloo, Iowa, a trading and packing center for the surrounding agricultural area. With 36,000 citizens, Waterloo was already a big town by



Among the legions of Gross admirers is California's Gov. Ronald Reagan, a one-time GOP presidential hopeful who shares many of Gross' fiscal views. Reagan and Gross worked together for awhile as radio announcers in Iowa. Their paths crossed last year, as Gross was a strong backer of Reagan's presidential bid.

Midwestern standards when Gross moved there after the First World War. Today its size has doubled. Waterloo is the county seat of Black Hawk County, named after the local Indian tribe which had to be subdued by force in the famous Black Hawk War of 1832, a war in which young Abe Lincoln fought.

Iowa, more than any other state in the Union, has come to typify small-town and rural American life. Not only did composer Meredith Wilson immortalize "River City, Iowa" (actually Mason City) in his Broadway hit musical *The Music Man*, but it was at Nashua, in 1864, that the Rev. William S. Pitts was inspired by a small brown painted frame church to pen the words of the hymn, "Come to the church in the wildwood, come to the church in the vale. . . ." Thousands of Protestant congregations all over America have since lustily repeated the invitation in song.

Both of these typical American towns are located in the heart of north central Iowa in Gross' 3rd Congressional District. Dotted by many small towns with tree-shaded streets and neat frame houses, most of the rolling countryside is one long stretch of verdant farmland. Iowa contains more than 25 per cent of the nation's "grade A" soil, and of this almost 98 per cent is used for farming. The 3rd district produces corn, soybeans, cattle, hogs and dairy products.

But not even this tranquil part of America was immune from post-World War II labor strife. At the Rath Packing Co. in Waterloo in 1948, one of the most violent strikes in Iowa's history took place. The Republican governor, Robert D. Blue, was forced to send in troops to restore order. The incumbent 3rd district congressman, Republican John W. Gwynne, was ending his seventh term in Washington, and his reputation with the labor unions was not favorable.

In the 1948 Republican primary H. R. Gross filed against Rep. Gwynne. "I had decided to show a few people who had opposed me for governor in 1940," Gross said. "Most of my support came from the rural areas, but I've never hidden the fact that the old American Federation of Labor union gave a $1,000 contribution to my campaign."

Gross still proudly carries in his wallet a yellowed newspaper clipping encased in plastic, containing the Chicago *Tribune* editorial endorsements for the 1948 general election. The editorial strongly backs Dan J. P. Ryan, Gross' Democratic opponent, with the stern admonition that a little-known candidate, H.R. Gross, had accidentally won the Republican nomination for Congress and what's more, was suspected of having strong "leftist tendencies."

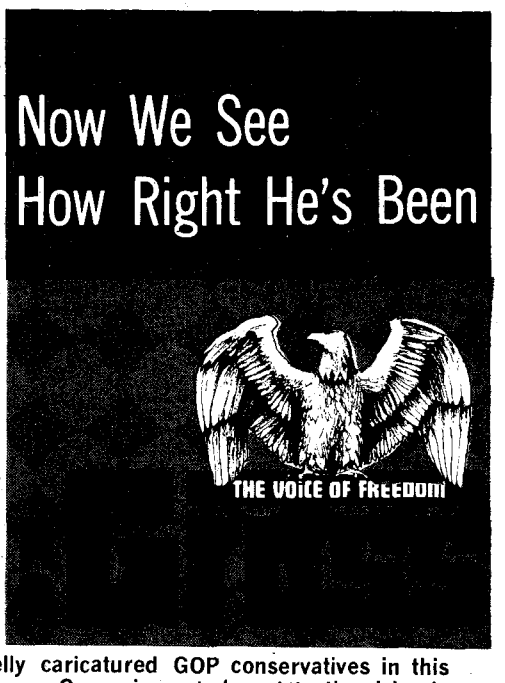
Says Gross with a laugh, "Willard Edwards and Walter Trohan of the *Tribune* still kid me about my 'leftist tendencies'."

Republican leaders had also branded Gross as a "radical leftist" in the 1948 primary, but when he won they closed ranks and he was elected in November by a 20,000-vote majority. The same election saw Gross' 1940 opponent for governor, George Wilson, go down to defeat in his try for a second term in the U.S. Senate.

Since 1948 Rep. Gross has continued to pile up large majorities at the ballot box, always running well ahead of the rest of the ticket. Only in 1964 did he have a close call. He won by only 419 votes out of 166,000 cast, but he still led the Republican ticket. In 1968 his majority was a comfortable 43,000 out of 157,000 votes.

Today H. R. Gross is the dean of the Iowa delegation in Congress. In terms of service, he outranks all but 46 other members of the House and ranks seventh in seniority among House Republicans. Since 1963, to the despair of the liberals, he has served on the prestigious House Foreign Affairs Committee, and now ranks second in seniority among Republicans on the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, whence he can keep an eye on the federal bureaucracy.

Gross' statistical record in Congress indicates that he has been one of the



Back in 1954, "Pogo" creator Walt Kelly caricatured GOP conservatives in this Life cartoon as obstreperous schoolchildren; Gross is seated next to the driver's seat, holding a slingshot. At right, Gross' campaign literature (1968) celebrates the fact that his consistently pro-economy views have become more popular.

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> The outrageous action of President Johnson in directing the freezing of the bank accounts in this country of representatives of the Rhodesian government is incredible. These representatives have committed no crime; their government is not waging war upon the United States, nor are they enemies of the United States. In order to support their families in this country they must now suffer the humiliation of appearing hat in hand at the Treasury Department and throw themselves upon the mercy of and beg from the bureaucrats who carry out the dictorial mandates of Lyndon Johnson. Through this underhanded procedure does lame duck President Johnson carry out his lickspittle role in support of the British boycott of Rhodesia. Meanwhile he hides in the shadows while British freighters steam through the 7th Fleet on the way to North Viet Nam with their cargoes of supplies for the Communists who have killed 18,000 Americans and maimed another 100,000. Shame, shame on those who punish our friends, but toady to those who are aiding the slaughter of Americans.
>
> **—Rep. H.R. Gross, 10-26-68**

most conservative and faithful members in either party:

• He has responded to 95 per cent of the rollcalls during the last 20 years (many of which he demanded himself).

• The Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) gives him a cumulative rating of 97 per cent conservative in his voting.

• The American Conservative Union (ACU) in its Democratic margin of victory score (DMV) reveals that Gross has voted with the majority of his GOP colleagues on 96 out of a possible 99 key rollcalls since 1961. This clearly indicates that Gross and a majority of his Republican colleagues agree on most major issues.

• Conversely, the AFL-CIO, COPE and the liberal Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) often give Gross scores of zero, on the same legislative record. "But," notes Gross, "I've always had the support of rank-and-file labor."

Rep. Gross sees no inconsistency in his continuing fight for the rights of the farmers "or any individual citizens." He has observed that opposition to accumulation of excessive power in the hands of big government is fully compatible with his battles of yesteryear against economic interests that showed little concern for the rights of individuals. "I don't think I have changed," says Gross. "Some others may have changed, but I haven't."

Rep. Gross' conservative philosophy draws the standard liberal complaint that he is negative and not "constructive." Sneers one liberal, "the list of issues he's opposed in one form or another would all but comprise the legislative record of each Congress he's attended."

Gross views it differently: "I believe you can be tremendously constructive on behalf of the people of this country by opposing the destruction of America and the freedom of its citizens."

Gross concedes that a conservative's views are "essentially negative," since they propose the limitation of government as a constructive good. He agrees with *National Review* columnist Frank Meyer, who wrote, "If eternal vigilance be the price of liberty, then eternal 'no' to encroaching government is its watchword." Thus Gross is not particularly disturbed by the epithet that he is the "Abominable No-Man of the House."

As they are translated into concrete actions, Rep. Gross' political ideals have been mightily aided in Washington by his perseverance in searching for the truth. He readily admits that he receives tips from many sources, the press, sympathetic government employes and, occasionally, a congressional colleague who doesn't have quite the taste for battle that Gross has.

"I get all these tips, but the hard part is checking them out to be sure before I speak." Gross pores over thousands of pages of print each week, reading public documents that many congressmen have never seen. He finds such publications to be a gold mine of information about wasteful government spending, excess federal employes and just plain wrongdoing.

He has also turned up a number of major scandals, including many facts in the Bobby Baker case, corruption in the foreign aid program, the Adam Clayton Powell affair, the granting of federal bank charters as political favors and even proof that the late Bobby Kennedy authorized wiretapping as attorney general, a fact Kennedy had denied vehemently, in effect calling FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover a liar.

Minor details do not escape the Iowa congressman. He was just as concerned to discover that the then secretary of the interior, Stewart Udall, was planning to pay $600,000 for Arizona land assessed at only $9,000, as he was when he found that the National Bureau of Standards was willing to spend $44,700 for one stainless steel flagpole which Gross estimated could be purchased for $820.

In each Congress, Rep. Gross has sponsored bill number H.R. 144 (the number of units in a gross), which provides for the systematic reduction of the national debt. He has been a strong critic of LBJ's policy toward Rhodesia, which he views as unnecessary aid for the "leeching British," who will not help the U.S. in Viet Nam.

One of his pet projects has been cutting the foreign aid program. In one day in September 1967, the House agreed to a number of his amendments with the net effect that $588.8 million was cut from the foreign aid bill. His amendment barring any U.S. aid to nations trading with the North Vietnamese was also adopted.

Gross has certain "pet peeves" that "turn him off" completely. The reason he insists on so many quorum calls, he says, is because he believes that "a congressman's duty is on the House Floor," not in the gym or junketing abroad. He is especially critical of the "Tuesday to Thursday clubbers," that wandering band of East Coast congressmen who spend three days a week in Washington and the remainder in their nearby districts in New York, Boston, or Philadelphia.

Says Gross, "Congress isn't a part-time job, it's a full-time responsibility." Often, his own homework includes stacks of bills and reports and each weekend he takes home the "calendars" of private and consent bills, studying them for problems until late at night.

Asked how he can afford to spend so much time on the House Floor away from his office, Gross explains that he has an excellent staff, headed by his veteran administrative assistant, Bob Case, 46, who has been with him since 1953. "Besides, I get in early and stay late if need be." Evidently, Gross' constituents in Iowa are pleased and he says proudly, "I know of no instance in which my district has suffered because of my activities in Washington."

This seems to be a valid claim. For example, in 1968 Gross' campaign literature used the theme, "Now we see how right he's been." It included a list of the principles supported by the congressman "for 20 years in Washington." Gross campaign auto bumper stickers bear the simple legend, "H.R. Gross, the Man of Principle."

An illustration of how powerful the respect for Rep. Gross is in his home state occurred in April 1968 at the Iowa Republican Convention.

More than two-thirds of the 3,480 delegates from every precinct in Iowa rebelled against a handpicked slate of delegates to the Miami Beach GOP National Convention. Suspending the rules, they replaced a delegate at large with none other than H.R. Gross, once considered a party "maverick," and in 1968 a vocal Reagan for President supporter. "We really took them apart," recalls Gross. He left it to others to observe that this was an impressive personal tribute from the Republicans of Iowa for their own "H.R."

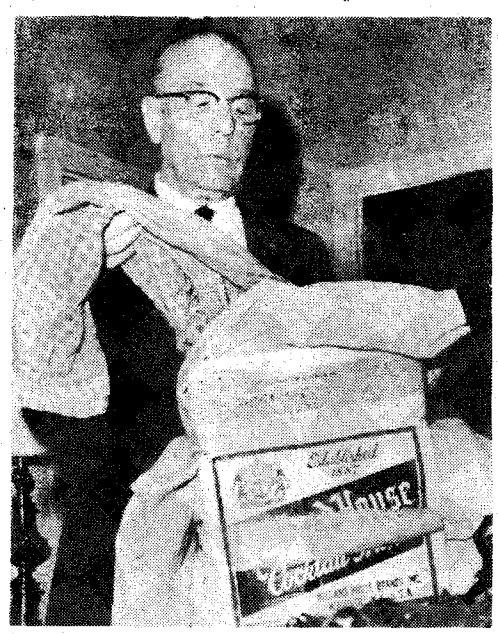
Gross' party support seems to cut across any ideological lines. Though he hardly feels at home with the liberalism of some few Iowa Republicans, Gross has been staunchly supported by his fellow Waterloo resident, Jack Warren, the GOP state chairman. In 1964, Warren, as a GOP delegate at San Francisco, voted for William Scranton over Sen. Goldwater. But, says Gross, "Jack has been one of my firmest supporters, right up to the hilt."

Those outside Iowa who know of H.R. Gross react to him in much the same manner as do his colleagues in Congress. They either like him or can't stand him, but few have no opinion at all.

Gross acknowledges that he gets thousands of letters from outside Iowa each year, many of them as the result, he notes, of news stories about him appearing in *Human Events*. When he announced in late December 1968 that he would move to bar Adam Clayton Powell from the House at the opening of the 90th Congress, even if no one else did, he was flooded with approving mail.

Reaction has not always been so favorable. When Gross forced a rollcall vote on a federal pay raise bill which was then narrowly defeated by the House, threatening phone calls to his home produced an FBI guard until the hotheads cooled off.

The attitude of his House colleagues is just as divided. Gross is no respecter of party lines in his opposition to what he considers wrong. One Western Republican on one day was praising "good old H.R." for tearing into a Democratic bill, and the next day was heard to refer to Gross as "an old s.o.b." because he had blocked consideration of the Westerner's pet private bill.



Just recently, the peppery Iowan began collecting "Bundles for Congress" for his "needy" colleagues in protest against the LBJ-Nixon pay raise.

Gross is accustomed to all this. "Sometimes it gets to you, but I decided long ago when I started in this business that I wasn't going to win a lot of friends in Washington or attain any leadership posts. You can't aspire to leadership and do the things I feel I must do."

Yet even in the tough arena of the House of Representatives, Rep. Gross has won an unusual measure of affection. Even the reporters in the Press Gallery know that his acid quips will liven up the legislative stories they must file each day.

On his birthday a few years ago, one congressman after another arose to pay tribute to the little man from Iowa who had caused them so much "trouble" over the years. So florid did the praise become that Gross, embarrassed by it all, blushed a deep scarlet and retired to the rear of the Chamber, somewhat misty-eyed, some noticed. Today, most members of Congress agree with the observation of one who said, "it would be a pretty dull place without H.R. to keep us on our toes."

What lies ahead in the 91st Congress for H.R. Gross, now that a Republican once again sits in the White House? Will he support President Nixon, or will he oppose him?

In the first session of the 83rd Congress (1953) during President Eisenhower's first term, Rep. Gross (like many other conservative Republicans) voted against Ike's proposals 25 out of 34 times. In the second session of the same Congress, he opposed Eisenhower more than 50 per cent of the time. Says Gross, "What I said then still goes. I'm not going to repudiate my past votes. I'm never going to toss my convictions overboard."

Rep. Gross, puffing quietly on his pipe in his office in the Rayburn House Office Building, told this writer that he is "hardly very hopeful about the future of this country. The Republican party, lacking strong leadership, has tended to drift to the left. I believe that unless President Nixon takes drastic action, we may face a serious national and international economic crisis within a very short time."

"There is no reason Nixon cannot cut the budget rather than retain the 10 per cent surtax. But," the Iowa congressman wryly notes, "that's rather negative, isn't it; not very constructive letting taxpayers keep their hard-earned money?"

About Congress as an institution, Gross feels that the American people are perhaps far ahead of their representatives on such issues as reduced federal spending and ethics in government. "The people want a change but we don't seem to have the political courage to give it to them," he observes.

Though Rep. Gross certainly doesn't look or act his 70 years, he was asked if he might be considering retirement at the completion of his present term in Congress. Smiling that slow, sly smile of his, the man *Time* magazine called "the conscience of the House," let the words out slowly and emphatically: "I have no plans for retirement."

For many, hearing that statement will be a great relief. For others, it will mean only further anguish. In any case, one must conclude any study of the life and work of H.R. Gross with the impression that, until the very last rollcall, he will be true to the Iowa state motto:

"Our liberties we prize, our rights we will maintain."

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March 4 Strike Proposed

The Plotting Against Our Military Defenses

By ALICE WIDENER

Acting together in a plot, a leftist group of graduate students and professors, at Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge and elsewhere, is trying to organize a nationwide strike of scientists and engineers, March 4, 1969, against our military forces and the industrial corporations that construct our military defenses. The aim of the plot is to set our scientists and engineers against the military and the policies of the U.S. government.

The octopus-like tentacles of the plotters reach from the Office of the MIT Provost, Dr. Jerome Wiesner, former science adviser to President Kennedy and longtime advocate of U.S. unilateral disarmament, to universities throughout our nation, to the Fund for the Republic's leftist Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, Calif., to the marble halls of the United States Senate and Supreme Court.

On Jan. 10, 1969, the following letter was sent to top scientists, researchers, professors and corporation engineers throughout our nation:

Science Action Coordinating Committee
Room 14N-218, 864-6900 X-4775
M.I.T., Cambridge, Mass. 02139
1-10-69

Dear Friend:

As a scientist and an active worker for peace you will be pleased to know that a group of faculty members and students at MIT are organizing against the current trend towards increasing military involvement in scientific research. For this purpose, the Science Action Co-ordinating Committee has been formed and has received widespread support in the scientific community at MIT and elsewhere.

We have set aside a day, March 4th, to begin a vigorous involvement with these issues and during that day we propose that scientists and engineers at MIT and elsewhere, pause in their normal research activities and join us for a day of critical discussion and self-evaluation. The idea has received widespread and enthusiastic support from the scientific community at MIT and all over the country.

We are enclosing a call describing our motives . . . as well as a statement prepared by the Industry Liaison Committee.

Strong support by scientists and engineers working for industry is desirable because of the part played by industry in promoting the military uses of science. . . .

Four days before sending out the foregoing letter, the Science Action Coordinating Committee (SACC) issued a "progress report" (Jan. 6, 1969) that stated the group was formed "with the primary purpose of organizing a one-day research strike on March 4, 1969. The official sponsoring organization for this project is now the Union of Concerned Scientists. . . ." Coordinator of the SACC Committee at MIT is Joel Feigenbaum; Elliot Belasco is in charge of inter-university action.

On March 4 members of the nationwide strike group will hold regional meetings to be addressed, according to present schedules, by Nobel Prize winners Hans Bethe of Cornell and George Wald of Harvard; by Gar Alperovitz, a Socialist Scholar, by Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.) and others.

The main objective of the MIT and affiliated groups (who are closely in touch with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions through Jerome Wiesner, Sen. McGovern, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas and others) is creation of "a politically active scientific community working outside of government and mobilizing popular support" to set scientists, engineers and researchers against the allegedly "destructive" defense policies of our government. The plotters' chief propaganda aim, at present, is to stop our country from building an anti-ballistic missile system. The Soviet Union already has one. It creates a military security gap in favor of the Communists. The over-all aim of the plotters is unilateral disarmament of the United States.

At the center of the anti-ABM campaign is the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. On Nov. 1, 1968, it sent a letter to presidents of major industrial corporations engaged in defense work announcing "a public discussion," November 19-20, in New York City on "ABM: Yes or No?"

Chairman of the November 19 meeting at the Hilton Hotel was Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, who abandoned a dispassionate role to make a one-sided opening statement. "My lay judgment," said Justice Douglas, "is that the manufacture of these systems of missile defense will make the military-industrial complex rich, will result in the production of huge piles of junk, and will be meaningless in terms of survival."

On November 20 the Center held a closed meeting at the St. Regis Hotel from which the press was barred. The secret talks were attended by four members of the Center staff, including W.H. Ferry and Harvey Wheeler, who are notoriously anti-U.S. government and anti-U.S. military in foreign policy and defense matters.

Among others present were Dr. Jerome Wiesner; Sen. George McGovern; Gen. Leon Johnson, who is in favor of ABM; longtime Socialist Adolph Berle; Prof. I.I. Rabi of Columbia University, participant in Pugwash conferences sponsored by Cyrus Eaton, Lenin Peace Prize winner; and Prof. Franz Shurmann of the University of California at Berkeley, a Socialist Scholar.

The edited version of their secret discussion is being published this month by the Center in a paper entitled "ABM: Yes or No?" Of course, the "noes" have it; the Center wears a figleaf of objectivity to maintain its tax-exempt status, but it has issued over the years a stream of anti-U.S. military, pro-unilateral U.S. disarmament literature.

The Center's plan to try to stop construction of an American ABM system was formulated as soon as the Johnson Administration proposed building a "thin system," after it became known the Soviets already had a thick one. When President Nixon announced his intention to strengthen U.S. military defenses, the Center intensified its anti-ABM propaganda, using Dr. Wiesner, former science adviser to President Kennedy, as a prime spokesman. Behind the scenes, Wiesner is supporting the leftist-radical Science Action Coordinating Committee's "strike" of scientists and engineers, March 4, 1969, against our government and industrial defense establishments. According to the Boston *Globe*, Dr. Wiesner will kick off the strike on the evening of March 3, along with leftist Prof. Noam Chomsky.

Signers of the March 4 strike call at MIT include the heads of the departments of chemistry, biology and physics; professors of aeronautical engineering, of mathematics, economics, and electrical engineering. The MIT Science Action Coordinating Group is in touch with Prof. Melvin Rosenberg of the University of Chicago and with Prof. Charles Schwartz of the University of California at Berkeley. The SACC also is cooperating with the revolutionary Students for a Democratic Society and the Socialist Scholars.

Under the alleged moral justification that scientists and engineers should refuse to take part in "destructive" military research, the plotters against an American ABM system and U.S. military defense are trying to persuade such professionals to divorce themselves from U.S. government-sponsored activities.

In light of the Soviet military invasion of Czechoslovakia, of the growing Soviet nuclear threat in space and on the seas, including the Mediterranean, the American people ought to inform themselves about the true aim of all intellectuals sponsoring the March 4 strike of scientists and engineers. The only ones who could possibly benefit from such a strike are our Communist foes. Those certain to suffer from impaired U.S. military defense are American men, women and children. (U.S.A. Syndicate)

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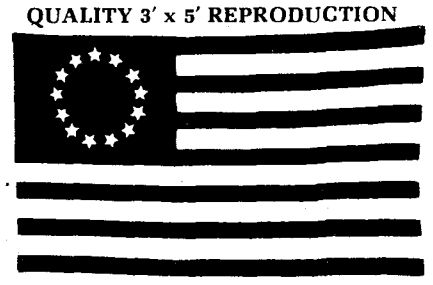

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For LBJ, No Roughing It Back on the Ranch

As far as the American taxpayer is concerned, old Presidents just will not fade away. These ex-chief executives, having spent billions in tax revenues while in office, are still given several thousands to play around with after leaving the White House. Apparently the practice of spending taxpayers' money is not that easy to break.

Take the case of the recently departed Lyndon Baines Johnson. During his reign LBJ was in the habit of tossing around $100-billion annual budgets with a perfectly straight face; now that he has "retired" to his Texas home Johnson can no longer lay his hands on a billion or two whenever he wants, but Congress has thoughtfully provided some $500,000 to keep him happy for awhile.

Under the Transition Act, passed during the LBJ presidency in 1967, an outgoing President is allotted $375,000 during his first six months out of office to pay for clerical help, office equipment, printing and other expenses a retired chief executive runs up. After these six months elapse, Mr. Johnson will receive $80,000 annually under the Former Presidents Act of 1958 with which he pays staff and office expenses.

As a former President, Mr. Johnson will also receive a yearly pension of $25,000, paid in convenient monthly installments. In addition, as a former member of both the House and Senate, LBJ will be getting another $22,000 yearly in congressional pension funds.

This same Mr. Johnson, don't forget, is the proud possessor of two Austin television stations, many, many acres of choice Texas turf and wields enough clout in the local banking biz to have at one time finagled his 21-year-old son-in-law, a nice chap but no J.P. Morgan, a position on the board of directors of one Austin bank. In other words, LBJ could conceivably forgo the $47,000 in pensions without forcing Lady Bird to haunt the bargain basements.

(Interestingly, when former President Eisenhower left office in 1961, Congress expressly forbade him from drawing both presidential pension and his deserved pay as an inactive five-star general of the Army; Mr. Eisenhower, forced to make a choice, took the presidential stipend. To think of all that time Ike wasted mucking about the beaches at Normandy when he would have been better off as a backbencher in the House of Representatives.)

Further Fringe Benefits

Other amenities Mr. Johnson will be able to enjoy—none of which are included under the above amounts and all of which involve taxpayer money—include: a presidential library at the University of Texas, office space in the federal building in Austin, Secret Service protection for both Mr. and Mrs. Johnson for the rest of their lives, free mailing privileges, a helicopter, use of military planes, two Air Force aides, and aircraft navigational equipment left at the LBJ Ranch from the presidential days. All that would appear to be missing is the proverbial partridge in a pear tree.

An interesting sidelight to this bonanza concerns the Air Force navigational, communications and safety equipment at the former President's ranch. Back in late 1968 the Air Force discreetly inquired at the White House as to when it could retrieve this costly gear; the terse reply was that Mr. Johnson was not planning to return it. The White House explanation was that President Nixon may want to get in touch with LBJ quickly, or perhaps fly to the ranch, and therefore the equipment was in the "national interest."

Another luxury at the LBJ Ranch provided courtesy of the Air Force is a field brilliant with wild flowers. They were planted last summer by a detail of airmen from nearby Bergstrom Air Force Base. Needless to say, while the work was in progress the Air Force insignia on the trucks being used was covered up by masking tape.

Ex-President Johnson looks over papers at his desk at his office in the Federal Building in Austin, Tex. Although LBJ is a millionaire many times over, the harried U.S. taxpayer still foots the bill for keeping LBJ in the style to which he has become accustomed.

All former Presidents are provided by the government with office space in which to continue conducting their correspondence, write their memoirs, plot conspiracies, throw darts, or whatever. But Lyndon Johnson has found he requires two rather spacious office areas, one in the federal office building in downtown Austin and the other in the now-under-construction Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library and School of Public Service at the University of Texas, also located in the capital city of Austin. Both are paid for by the taxpayers.

The federal building offices were outfitted during LBJ's White House tenure for use during his vacations in Texas, although he ended up spending most of his time at the ranch. Mr. Johnson and his staff occupy some 20 offices on the top floor of the 10-story structure, with six of the rooms being paneled in expensive teakwood and LBJ's own haven furnished with three television sets and a galley.

Among the staffers in residence in the Austin offices are former foreign policy adviser Walt W. Rostow, who will also be teaching at the University of Texas, ex-press aide Tom Johnson, and speech writers Robert Hardesty and Harry Middleton. Lady Bird Johnson will also have her own office in the federal building complex.

Most of the staff work is expected to consist of sorting out and cataloguing the tons of letters, memos, photographs and other documents Mr. Johnson had shipped down from Washington. It is estimated that the total haul includes some 22 million pages of documents gathered during LBJ's 38 years in political life, plus about 250,000 photographs, most of them taken during the White House years. This material will be the foundation of the ex-President's memoirs.

Other space in the Austin federal office building is being used to house these LBJ archives, as well as handle services that cannot be fitted into the tenth-floor space. A mail room has been set up on the second floor, with a staff of eight and a fleet of IBM computerized typewriters to compose form replies to letters to Mr. Johnson.

Some 13,000 square feet of space on the ground floor, under strict security guard, house the most important presidential documents. The basement contains gifts the Johnsons received while in the White House (which are not legally theirs to use); and the basement of a post office elsewhere in Austin contains less vital government documents. Understandably, many Austin residents refer to the local federal office building as the "White House-in-exile."

Much of this memorabilia will be moved to the LBJ Presidential Library on the UT campus when it is completed in 1970. This will include the White House gifts, many of which came from foreign heads of state, and important papers and letters, which will be on display in the museum portion of the huge library complex.

UT Choice No Surprise

Several universities across the nation bid for the right to house the LBJ library, an accoutrement that accrues to all former Presidents under the Presidential Libraries Act, but the University of Texas won the bidding in 1965. Not insignificant in this coup was the fact Lady Bird Johnson is a UT alumni and daughter Lynda Bird also spent some time there. Adjacent to the library, which stands on the highest point of ground in Austin, will be UT's East Campus Library and Research Building, which will contain the offices and classrooms for the newly established LBJ School of Public Service.

It was originally thought, particularly by UT officers, that the former President would join the school's faculty as a distinguished professor/lecturer, either part-or full-time, on public administration in the School of Public Service. Johnson himself lent substance to this hope when he said in 1965 that eventually it "is my ambition to return to my former profession of teaching."

It now appears, however, that Johnson will spend most of his time sorting his papers and writing his memoirs rather than on any formal teaching.

Mr. Johnson will be found most often in his spacious, airy office high atop his presidential library, quite literally the ruler of all he surveys (in downtown Austin they speak only of "him"). To make his transition from Leader of the Free World to private citizen even more effortless, Johnson had the architects design his eighth-floor library office as an exact replica of the Oval Room office he occupied at the White House.

Other features of the eighth-floor aerie include: a six-by-eight-foot, four-hour fire-rated concrete vault to hold the most important presidential papers; three-inch-thick bullet-proof glass; microfilming facilities, offices for 20 LBJ staff aides, and, on the roof above, a 61-foot-square, reinforced concrete helicopter landing pad for the government-paid aircraft which will whisk Mr. Johnson to and from his ranch some 65 miles away. For some reason, one of the library's contractors reveals, on the architectural drawings for the library this rooftop square was labeled a "sun deck," even though it was constructed to hold the load of the largest helicopters now in service.

Cost of the library, with 150,000 square feet in floor space, and school, with 275,000 square feet, will be $11.8 million, roughly $1 million higher than UT's original estimate; library construction alone is expected to consume half that amount. It is true that the state-supported university is absorbing the cost of this construction, but upon completion the library (only) will be permanently leased to the federal government's General Services Administration, which will rent and maintain the library under the Presidential Libraries Act. Thus Mr. Johnson manages to have both his personal offices in Austin paid for by the government.

Care and Feeding of LBJ

The purpose behind the government's lavish care and ego-feeding of Lyndon Johnson is to make sure that former chief executives of the nation are provided for in their twilight years. Some ex-Presidents, most notably James Monroe and Ulysses S. Grant, died in virtual poverty and to prevent this from recurring Congress passed the Presidential Act of 1933 and the Former Presidents Act of 1958, legislation securing the economic prospects for retired White House residents.

Lyndon Johnson had the good luck to have his retirement come after the 1958 act was amended in 1967 and the Transition Act was passed the same year. This legislation raised the amount available for staff salaries and provided the $375,000 sum to assist Mr. Johnson during his first six months out of office. The Transition Act also provided retirement funds for Vice President Humphrey and moneys to aid President Nixon before his inauguration.

None of the legislation providing for ex-Presidents, however, takes into account the private wealth of the individual office-holder. He may be a man of humble means, such as Harry Truman, the ex-haberdasher of Independence, Mo., or a multi-millionaire such as Lyndon B. Johnson, and in either case the taxpayers are left accountable for the same amounts in salary, office, staff, services and assorted costs.

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The Fallacies We Live By

Poor Nations 'Exploited' by Foreign Capital

By FRED G. CLARK and RICHARD RIMANOCZY

Whenever this greatly misunderstood subject comes up, we are reminded of a speech made in Toronto during the 1965 conference of the United Nations Trade and Development Board. The British delegate made the following statement while discussing the difference in income levels in underdeveloped nations and industrialized nations:

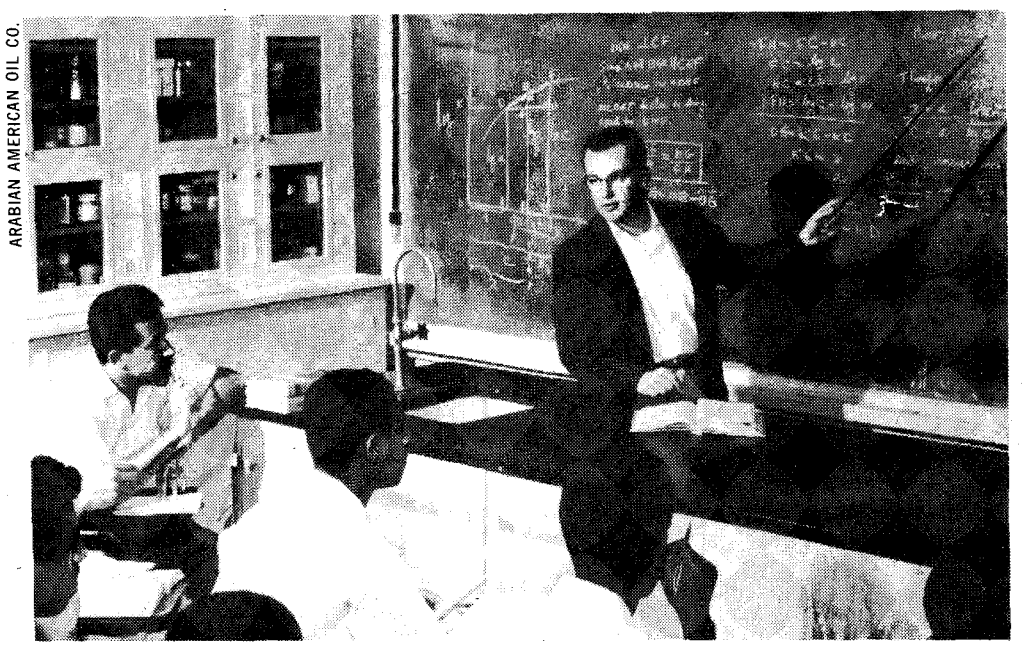
"These outrageous differences ought not to exist! What makes them unbearably unjust is that many of the raw materials such as copper, lead, zinc, oil and rubber upon which the richer nation's wealth depends comes mostly from the poorer countries. Their people are rightly asking why should they allow the privileged white man to come to their country and exploit their raw materials to give the white man an income 20 times higher than they themselves enjoy?"

We yield to no one in our sympathy for the overpopulated, underdeveloped nations, but sympathy is no substitute for realistic thought.

Let's put this problem in proper perspective. Natural resources are *important* but they are not money in the bank. In fact, they are worth *nothing* until they are put to use.

For example, consider a deposit of copper ore in Nation X. It has no value until someone finds out where it is, mines it and refines it into commercially useful metal. This requires the risk of expensive exploration, investing in machinery and supplying the payroll of the workers. In poor countries like Nation X, this must be done by "foreigners" because there is no domestic capital to do the job.

No two cases of resource development are ever the same, but let's set up a reasonable example of how much wealth a foreign copper company would *add* to the economy of Nation X, and how much it would *take out*.



ARABIAN AMERICAN OIL CO.

A group of Saudi Arab students receives chemistry training at an Arabian American Oil Co. school in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. Practically all of that country's progress in recent years has been due to the economic influence of American oil operations in that area.

Using hypothetical but reasonable figures, let's assume that Copper Company Y has spent $2 million finding and "proving out" an ore body, received government permission to develop it, invested $100 million in tools and equipment, and, when operations are in full swing, is able to produce 100,000 tons of copper each year.

Let's assume that this copper is sold for $840 a ton (42¢ a pound) which brings $84 million to Copper Company Y.

To form an opinion of the "goodness" or "badness" of this operation we must find out where the $84 million went.

First we find about $11 million spent in Nation X for the goods and services needed in the operation.

Second we find about $15 million in direct payroll to exmployes who are citizens of Nation X.

Third we find about $19 million in direct employe benefits, including free housing, family allowances, free medical and hospital service, free transportation, free schools, free recreation facilities, and non-profit company stores.

Fourth we find about $10 million that must be set aside to replace the tools as they wear out. (This is called depreciation.)

Fifth we find about $15 million of taxes which Copper Company Y pays to the government of Nation X.

Sixth we find about $14 million of profit which belongs to the stockholders who put up the money that made the operation possible.

Now, let's see how much of this $84 million of newly created wealth is used for the benefit of "foreigners."

All of the first item is paid to business and professional people who are citizens of Nation X.

All of the second item is received by employes, the great majority of whom are citizens of Nation X. Even the few "foreigners" on the payroll spend their money in Nation X.

All of item three is spent for the benefit of citizens of Nation X who work for the company.

Most of item four unavoidably leaves Nation X because most of the new tools must be purchased from industrialized nations.

All of item five (the taxes) stays in Nation X and is used for the benefit of its citizens.

None of item six *should* have to stay in Nation X because it belongs to the owners of Copper Company Y who live in other countries. (Sometimes, however, the government of Nation X interferes with these payments to "foreigners." This policy hurts Nation X because it discourages badly needed foreign investment.)

So, we see that at least $60 million of the $84 million stays in Nation X for the benefit of its people. However, without the enterprise and risk-taking of Copper Company Y, Nation X would have received *none of it*, because it would not have existed.

As previously noted, these figures are not based on an actual example, but the figures are accurate enough to serve as a good illustration.

If there is any injustice to Nation X in this "exploitation," we fail to see it. True, the national income *is* still low, *but not as low as it would have been.*

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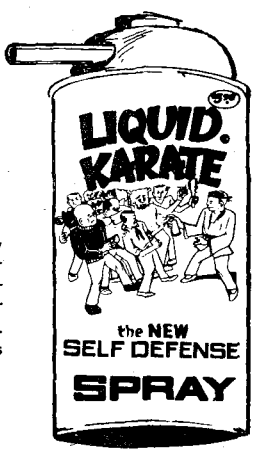

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'New Africa' Militants Plan Brooklyn 'Nation'

By PAUL SCOTT

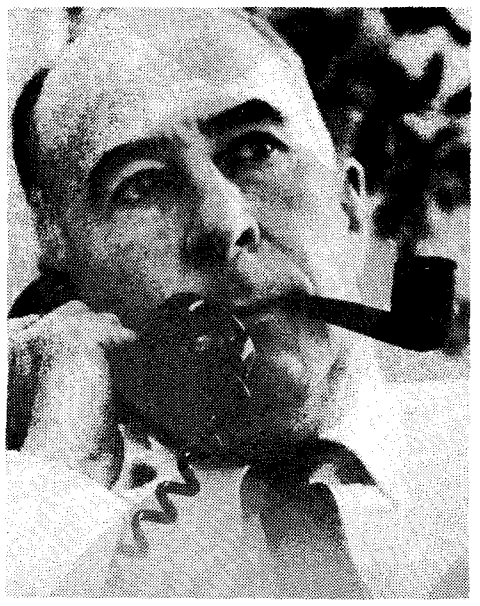
The trouble-plagued Ocean Hill-Brownsville School District in Brooklyn, N.Y., has been picked by black militants as the initial battleground for development of their own nation within the U.S.

Strategy for using that simmering school dispute to gain local support for taking control of the area is now being mapped in a series of meetings throughout the country by black militants who organized "The Republic of New Africa."

Immediate objective of the meetings held in Detroit, Chicago, New York, and Washington, D.C., is the recruitment of a Revolutionary Freedom Corps (RFC) from among the black militant students involved in recent campus disorders.

Their plans provide for sending these "RFC" recruits to the Ocean Hill-Brownsville area within 60 days to begin organizing local Negroes for a gradual takeover of the school district and other functions of local government.

These and other details of the black militants' takeover plans are highlighted in documents now in possession of De-



Investigators from John Mitchell's Justice Department are watching the Revolutionary Freedom Corps.

partment of Justice investigators probing the New York school situation.

Prepared as working papers for the "RFC" organizational meetings, the documents reveal that the black militants already have begun to set up a "provisional government" in the area to handle future protest activities.

Under what the black militants describe as their "expanding sovereignty plan," the college recruits will be used to form and train uniform community patrols of high school students.

The community patrols at the outset are to be unarmed and used to watch and report on local police activities. Other units are to be organized to take over control of state and federal health clinics and garbage collections.

"Objective of these community patrols is to begin exercising sovereignty along those limited lines that are most readily available to us," stated one of the documents. "We can later expand this exercise until it is total."

Other documents call for organizing an "independence vote" of all residents "to present the U.S. authorities with an implacable accomplished fact: The free vote of a community for independence."

Justice Department officials, who have been watching the new activities of "The Republic of New Africa," have warned the White House that the black militant group is receiving funds and advice from revolutionary groups abroad.

Their organization work in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville area, according to these officials, is being aided by the pro-Peking Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), which is openly recruiting "Black Guards"—junior guerrillas modeled after China's Red Guards.

"All the black militant groups have decided to concentrate their efforts in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville area," stated one Justice Department investigator. "They are convinced that the school control issue is the gut issue on which they can organize mass support."

This analysis is supported by one of black militant documents which states:

"Ocean Hill-Brownsville is already at the point to which we could hope to get people in Mississippi only after years of steady and costly propaganda work. A majority of the people understand the issue and will use both their minds and body in the battle for community control."

Note: The Republic of New Africa group is headed by Robert Williams, a fugitive from justice now living in Africa. In his absence, the black militant group is run by the Henry brothers, Milton and Richard, from Pontiac, Mich.

□□□

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, recently reported in deep financial trouble, will go into bankruptcy. The muck-raking New Left journal racked up debts of more than $500,000, but several editors are undaunted: They will try again with a successor, tentatively titled *Barricades*.

Pay the Two Dollars!

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Thus the plot of an ancient vaudeville sketch: A man, palpably overcharged $2, decides to pay, but his lawyer won't hear of it. The case goes from court to court, with the client still pleading to pay, but the attorney, justice-bound, takes it to the Supreme Court. At the end, the poor wretch is behind bars, up for life, and still crying for his adamant advocate to "Pay the $2!"

With that as my text, I solemnly warn readers who are conservative enough to believe in the neighborhood schoolhouse never, but never, to run for a school board. At least, not in California.

I've often wondered why any man in his senses wants to be President—or even governor—and face the abuse that goes with the post. Still, I realize the salary is often an inducement.

But that wouldn't account for the 100 or so who have filed in the race for the seven seats for the Board of Trustees of the Los Angeles Junior Colleges. The maximum stipend (dependent on the number of meetings) is $2,600 a year; and it takes $50 to file and campaign expenditures may be more than the salary.

And, if you win, the cost may be infinitely greater. For here a board member may be sued over the way he voted. It may be just a nuisance suit—but fighting it takes both time and money.

Consider the case of Pasadena. If there really are little old ladies in tennis shoes there, my guess is that they had known better days until they served on the school board. In fact, I'm surprised they're not barefoot.

In May 1967, a liberal board (by a vote of 4 to 1) ordered the high schools redistricted and the students bused in order to achieve integration, which, of course, is far more important than the Three R's and all that jazz.

That raised a furor—as crosstown busing always has. (Some years ago the NAACP put through such a plan in New Rochelle, N.Y. Interestingly, it was the colored parents whose protests stopped it—they wanted their kids in the neighborhood schools, even as you and I.)

A month afterward, Pasadena elected two conservatives to the new board, both of whom had campaigned for the neighborhood school. The people had spoken and the busing order was rescinded, as promised.

Whereupon, a suit was filed in state court by three parents (one black and two whites) for an injunction against the rescission of busing. The injunction was denied.

In November, however, the board unanimously appropriated $25,000 for a long-range study of the city's high school problems.

Then, in May 1968, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare announced an investigation of the board policies. Nothing personal, HEW said. This was just one of several samplings being made.

But in August the American Civil Liberties Union filed a second suit in behalf of the three aggrieved parents. And now the plaintiffs asked compensatory damages against the three conservative board members who had voted for rescission ($250,000) and court costs of $25,000.

And, incidentally, HEW began a follow-up investigation. In October the school superintendent asked HEW for its findings, but was told no report had been filed as yet. But, in November, he received official notice that the Justice Department was intervening in the matter.

Not till a month later was the HEW report made. Which is curious, come to think of it. The Justice Department doesn't go after an offender before charges are made, as a rule.

Well, the board thought of it. So would you, probably, too, if you thought you were facing HEW, the Justice Department and a lawsuit.

At any rate, in December the long-range study lads brought in several alternative plans for solving the school problems. And last month the board unanimously approved a plan for a complex, designed to house three high schools, all ethnically balanced, on one campus. And in April, Pasadena will vote on a $34-million bond issue to cover the cost.

As I hinted, it might have been cheaper to pay the $2. And, remember, don't ever let anyone persuade you to run for the school board.

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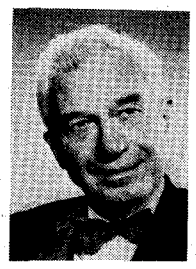
SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Enemy Captivity

By REP. WILLIAM G. BRAY (R.-Ind.)

Every American fighting man surely knows, and every one of our citizens must realize, that captivity by the enemies we face today on many fronts is a grim and terrible prospect indeed. They—our enemies—will not refrain one instant from applying the most insidious and sinister techniques yet devised to try and abuse and humiliate a once-proud person to the point where he is a cringing, mindless wretch, a pathetic shadow of his former self.



American fighting men sent into battle or into any situation where the danger of captivity by the enemy is real and present, must be armed with something more than the present "Code of Conduct for Prisoners of War." The Code tells the man what his country expects of him, but does not the man have an equal right to expect something from his country?

• First, he has a right not to be needlessly and carelessly exposed to possible attack and captivity, as was the *Pueblo* and its crew.

• Second, he should not have to enter captivity with the nagging feeling that he has become a casualty in a war that is being fought only with half-measures.

• Third—generally, in past wars, achieving release of American prisoners was seen as a by-product of victory. However, today, considering the peculiarly hideous nature of POW treatment by the North Vietnamese, and the North Koreans, should not this goal of release become equal among the other major objectives that only a victory can secure?

I do not suggest for a moment that any or all of these three things, put into practice and accepted as articles of faith by our troops, would serve by themselves to steel a man for the ordeal of a Communist prison. But I do believe they might help, in their own small and important way. They would, perhaps, give and help keep alive that extra glimmer of hope, a hope nurtured on the knowledge that as he, the captive, had kept faith with his country, so his country would continue to keep faith with him.

Handouts vs. Jobs

By SEN. ALLEN ELLENDER (D.-La.)

The nation has always been able to find the funds necessary to provide for the aged, the halt, the lame and needy children. The question has now come down to the 35-year-old man who would rather sit on his hands all day than do anything else. I don't believe that this nation really desires to see that this individual and his brothers are provided with all the food his family needs, free of charge. It is one thing for Congress to establish a national mandate that everyone desirous of honest work will have a job, as we attempted to do with the Full Employment Act of 1946; or that everyone will have the right to a decent place to live at a reasonable price, as we have attempted with the various public housing laws. It is quite another thing to attempt to guarantee that everyone has a right to a full stomach by adopting something along the lines of a "Full Stomach Act of 1969," which I presume will be advocated by some.

'Make Me Take It'

By REP. TIM LEE CARTER (R.-Ky.)

The horrendous salary increase which so many of us strongly opposed has been enacted into law.

I am reminded of an old Kentuckian who thought he was crossing into the great beyond, and as the sun sank slowly into the West, casting its benign rays over the horizon, he motioned to his wife to come over to his bedside.

"Mary," he whispered, "you remember that old trunk in the basement?"

"Yes, John," she answered tearfully, "I believe there is an old trunk down there."

"Well, Mary," he whispered, "there is a quart of bourbon, fine old bourbon in it. Go down and get it."

"Yes, John," she said. "What then?"

John gave her specific instructions. He told her to fill his glass with finely crushed ice, to bruise some mint, and to stir it up in the glass, with just a pinch of sugar. Then he told her to pour the bourbon liberally over the concoction and to decorate it with sprigs of mint, then to set it aside until frost formed on the outside of the glass. "And, then, Mary," gasped the old man, his voice now all but extinct, "bring it up here to me and when you bring it in here, Mary, no matter what I do or say, make me take it."

So many of us who have fought so valiantly, after this iniquitous bill is passed and the tumult and the shouting dies, will say, "No matter what I say or do, Mary, make me take it."

Mideast Sovereignty

By REP. JOHN BUCHANAN (R.-Ala.)

There is good reason to believe that the major reason for the public executions in Iraq and the charges of Israeli espionage is the instability and insecurity of the Iraqi regime. In its six months in office, the government has been unable to rally widespread popular support. It is the fifth regime in the last 11 years. It does not want to be replaced by a sixth and has fallen back on an old formula—warnings about "Israeli imperialism" and "Zionist conspiracy." The real conspiracy seems to be against peace. Until every nation in the Middle East recognizes not only the rights of its own citizens but those of every other nation and further acknowledges the essential right to sovereignty of every other nation, there can be no real peace in the Middle East. Indeed, it will take all the wisdom of a Solomon to reconcile the deep-rooted differences between Arab and Jew in that troubled part of the world.

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• Two major **electoral reform** measures have been introduced for consideration by the Senate Constitutional Amendments subcommittee. S.J. Res. 1, sponsored by subcommittee Chairman Sen. Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.), would bring the most radical change: the abolition of the present Electoral College system and substitution of a direct popular election of the President. Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.) has introduced a milder alternative (S.J. Res. 12) which would retain the Electoral College, but substitute a congressional district system of vote allocation for the present winner-take-all allocation by states.

• President Nixon, saying that things have changed since the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, has called for "prompt consideration and positive action" by the Senate on the **Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty**. With the President's green light, Sen. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) said his Senate Foreign Relations Committee will begin hearings on the treaty this week. Fulbright, longtime advocate of the Soviet-American treaty, predicted that the document would come up for a vote early in March and that he foresaw no "reasonable" chance for its defeat. However, two prominent members of Nixon's own party—Senators Barry Goldwater and Strom Thurmond—have vowed to fight the treaty all the way.

• The Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee has begun hearings on proposed **changes of the Bail Reform Act of 1966** (P.L. 89-465), with special attention being paid to President Nixon's advocacy of "preventive detention" of suspected criminals. In effect, Nixon's proposal would allow judges to deny bail to suspects considered likely to commit crimes while awaiting trial. Subcommittee Chairman Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.) feels that such arbitrary detention might be an infringement of constitutional rights. Meanwhile, legislation (HR 2781) granting more flexible bail powers to judges has already been introduced by a group of House Republicans, headed by Minority Leader Rep. Gerald Ford (R.-Mich.)

• Rep. Edith Green's (D.-Ore.) House Special Subcommittee on Education has opened hearings to examine possibilities for **changing current federal-aid-to-higher-education legislation**, with an eye to halting aid money to disruptive students. This would alter a 1968 act (P.L. 90-575) which permitted college officials to withhold federal aid to students who disrupted campus life, giving this power to Congress. Last week the subcommittee heard beleaguered San Francisco State President S.I. Hayakawa reveal that "we have all the militant leadership [at S.F. State] that is needed for a first-class revolt. . . ."

• Senate sponsors of a Cabinet-level **"Department of Peace"** (see February 8 Legislative Boxscore) last week brought to Capitol Hill a star-studded line-up of supporters, beginning with the husband-wife acting team of Paul Newman and Joanne Woodward. President Nixon is opposed, however. Meanwhile, Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D.-Wis.) and Rep. Ben Rosenthal (D.-N.Y.) are lining up sponsors for yet another Cabinet unit, this a **"Department of Consumer Affairs."**

• Senate Minority Leader Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) has once more taken up the banner in his battle to amend the Constitution to permit non-denominational prayers in public places, most particularly public schools. Dirksen's measure (S.J. Res. 6), with 45 co-sponsors, would effectively overturn recent Supreme Court rulings banning prayer in public schools. Similar attempts by Dirksen in 1965 and 1966 failed when they did not get the two-thirds Senate majority needed for an amendment.

• A raft of labor legislation has already been introduced in the 91st Congress and Big Labor, led by the AFL-CIO, is rolling up its guns to get what it wants. Two measures would have the effect of **destroying Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Law**, one through outright repeal of the right-to-work proviso and the other through an amendment which would dilute 14b's authority. In the Senate, Sen. Harrison Williams (D.-N.J.) has introduced a measure (S 8) which would pave the way for **compulsory unionism for farm workers**; similar legislation is being brought before the House by ultra-liberal Rep. Phillip Burton (D.-Calif.).

• A mixed ideological bag of senators, ranging from Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) to George McGovern (D.-S.D.), have joined in co-sponsoring a bill to **abolish the military draft and institute an all-volunteer army** six months after it becomes law (S 503). The legislation enforces President Nixon's campaign pledge of draft abolition and replacement by a voluntary military. Under the bill, which was introduced by Sen. Mark Hatfield (R.-Ore.), 18-year-olds would continue to register with the Selective Service and the President could request Congress to reinstate the draft in cases of national emergency. It would also raise military pay to attract volunteers, costing the government some $3.7 billion more in payroll costs, although other current costs involving draftee induction and training would be sharply reduced.

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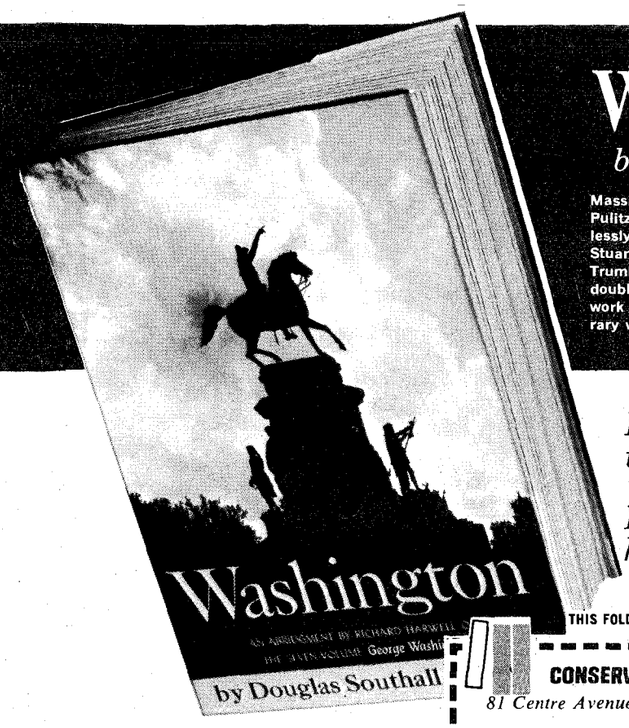

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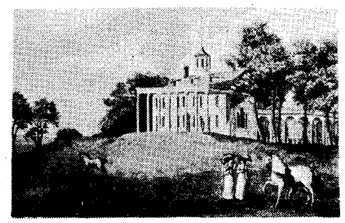

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